

INSIDE: The slap to Canada's image in Washington

Maclean's

MARCH 31, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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'The Real Pierre Trudeau'



**A dramatic
excerpt from
a new book by
Liberal insider
Donald Johnston**





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MARCH 21, 2000 VOL. 30 NO. 12

COVER

The real Pierre Trudeau

In an exclusive excerpt from a new book, former Liberal cabinet minister Donald Johnson candidly describes Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who dominated the politics and the imagination of Canada for more than 16 years. The political reminiscences in *Up the Hill* also provide a rare reflection of an active son's frustrations with life in Parliament Hill. —Page 10

COVER PHOTO BY DENNIS COUGHLIN



Resettlement's human cost

A tour of Ethiopian resettlement villages by Canadian officials last week raised doubts about the use of Canadian funds in support of a repressive regime. —Page 30



Calgary's bitter spring

As falling oil prices continued to threaten Calgary's economy, Alberta Premier Don Getty offered \$400 million in assistance to restore international price stability. —Page 28



Mixed results at the summit

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney returned from his summit meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan drawing a breakthrough on the problem of acid rain. —Page 22



Randy Andy settles down

Prince Andrew's engagement pleases former Kingston, Ont., girlfriend Sandy Jank, who says the prince is better off with Sarah Ferguson than with Ron Stark. —Page 16

CONTENTS

Arts	9
Books	51
Business/Economy	38
Canada/Cover	10
Crime	50
Editorial	2
Film	54
Fetheringham	64
Justice	55
Letters	4
News	54
Passages	4
People	46
Q&A	6
Sports	52
Theatre	61
World	30

Defending dictators

Barbara Amiel has hit a new low with her apparent defence of Western-supported dictatorships ("A difficult choice of tyrannies," *Column*, March 3). She says that Corason Aquino's assumption of the presidency of the Philippines will likely result in a Communist takeover. In fact, the opposite is probably true: It is Ferdinand Marcos's sponsorship of democratic opposition over the years that created such a strong guerrilla movement.

—CAL KACZMAREK

Barbara Amiel's thesis that authoritarian tyrants are less likely to promote totalitarian takeovers than "weak" democracies begs the question: because, by her own admission, such occurs only where the democracy is the dictatorship, not the democracy that fosters the dictatorship. But what infuriates me most is Amiel's suggestion that "places like the Philippines or Iran" may "prefer" some system of government other than democracy. "And even if we give people they were willing to sacrifice their lives to establish democracy, we would have to ask the Iranian or Filipino, who would bear the brunt of fighting, if it was worth it to them," she writes in a promising tone. The commitment of the Philippine people to democracy would put most of the world's people, including Amiel, to shame.

—ANDREA MACKEY

Edmonton

Thank you for Barbara Amiel's beautifully written article, which perfectly expresses the concerns shared by me



Aquino: a commitment to democracy

and my husband, a former refugee from a Communist totalitarian regime, about the Philippines.

—NETH HENSON

Ottawa

It is just not true that "our geopolitical friends" are innately "better" to the people they tyrannize than any of the alternatives," and Barbara Amiel does her cause as service by such grotesque generalizations.

—JAMES HARRISON

Guelph, Ont.

A warning on home testing

Your article "Do-it-yourself lab tests" (Health, Feb. 19) is cause for deep concern to the members of the Ontario Society of Medical Technologists. In the interests of public safety, a trend toward the public at large using home tests to diagnose their own conditions should be arrested at once. The article leaves the impression that anyone can produce "results as accurate as similar tests done in labs." Even with current sophisticated technology and professionals trained to use it, the confidence level for tests performed using equipment costing \$10,000 to \$50,000 is only 70-80% per cent. This level of sophistication and expertise cannot be purchased off the shelf of a pharmacy. If the public at large is permitted to purchase these kits for use by themselves or on others without adequate training, supervision and follow-up, the problem already experienced with the health care delivery system will be exacerbated by the potential for misinterpretation of the results obtained.

—DEBORAH NEIL

President,

Ontario Society of

Medical Technologists,

Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply their address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Let's say it, Editor Barbara's magazine, 4800 Steeles Avenue East, 777 Reg. St., Toronto, Ont. M3J 1A7.

PASSAGES

DEAD: Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist and short-story writer **Bernard Malamud**, 71, in New York. Condemned by many critics to be one of the finest contemporary American writers, Malamud explored the theme of attaining moral enlightenment through suffering. His best-known works reflected a regard for Jewish tradition and included a collection of short stories, *The Magic Barrel* (1960), and the novel *The Fixer* (1965).

DEAD: Actress **Telly Sabin**, 55, after a short illness, in London. Sabin, who had lived in England for the past 30 years, was an original partner on *The City People* game show and during the 1950s and 1960s made frequent TV and stage appearances in Toronto. She also starred in the 1967 film *The Naked Runner* with Frank Sinatra.

DEAD: Broadcasting pioneer **Harold W. Arlin**, 90, after a heart attack, in Bakersfield, Calif. In 1922 Arlin became the first full-time announcer at Pittsburgh's KDKA, America's first radio station. He was the first to announce a major league baseball game (the Pirates vs. the Phillies on Aug. 21, 1921).

DEAD: Sir **John Glubb**, 88, British commander of the Arab Legion, a desert army of Beirout, from 1929 to 1956, in Mayfield, England. Sir John, who wielded enormous influence in the Middle East, struck a dashing figure in Arab headress as camel or horseback and was sometimes likened to Lawrence of Arabia (author T.E. Lawrence).

MARRIED: Actress **Debra Winger**, 26, and **Timothy Dalton**, 36, in *Big Boy, Calif.* Recently, Winger had been linked with Nebraska Gov. Robert Kerrey.

MARRIED: Actress **Patty Duke**, 28, who won an Academy Award for best supporting actress in the 1969 film *The Miracle Worker*, and **Michael Pezzee**, 34, an army drill sergeant she met while filming a TV series, in *Stockton, N.J.*

WON: By 11 Canadian journalists, the top annual National Newspaper Awards. The winners, who receive \$1,000, include **Adèle Freedman** (*The Globe*) and **Monty Ahl** for feature writing; **Raye Chast** (*Ottawa's* *Le Press*), 36, for enterprise reporting; **John Duke** (*Windsor Free Press*), 30, for editorial writing; **Harvey Schachter** (*Kingsman Whig-Standard*), 36, for column writing.

AWARDED: To **Peter C. Newman**, 56, senior contributing editor for Maclean's, the National Business Writing Awards Distinguished Service Award, which recognizes outstanding achievement in Canadian business journalism.

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Paying for an extra bill of health

The issue of extra billing by doctors—charging patients above the level of payment paid for by provincial government health plans—remains a major obstacle to Canada's health care system. Under the Canada Health Act, the federal government can withhold transfer payments from provinces where doctors extra-bill patients. So far, six provinces have suffered extra billing in Alberta and Ontario the issue has spiraled into controversy. Last December, Ontario Premier David Peterson's government proposed legislation which it claims would guarantee universal accessibility to medical care by its removing extra billing. The bill, one before public hearings, has inflamed an already sensitive debate. Maclean's resident editor Janet Knight recently interviewed two of the key opponents in the battle, in Toronto.

Dr. Hugh Scully is chairman of the 1,300-member Ontario Medical Association (OMA), a professional association fighting for extra billing. The doctors' main concern is that the Ontario legislation will lead to total state control over medicine.

Maclean's: Do you agree with the principle of medicine?

Scully: Absolutely. The profession has always agreed that it is very important that all citizens have access to good quality care and that there should not be any important or significant barriers to that access. [But] that isn't to say that a government can afford to cover all the costs.

Maclean's: But would not extra billing represent a barrier for some patients seeking health care?

Scully: And we're quite happy to look at it in the context of the accessibility of the whole system. Physicians would be prepared to discuss and negotiate the principle of extra billing in the context of a series of accessibility problems generally.

Maclean's: Why are doctors as concerned over the issue of extra billing?

Scully: The profession sees its freedom of choice being taken away. It would allow the government to say why, where, when, how much and whom physicians could treat. That has happened in some other payments. In Quebec, there has been a contract placed on it, and a staggered fee schedule (an effort to redistribute medical manpower), which has not worked.

Maclean's: But Ontario's legislation is only restricted with extra billing.

Scully: The only issue that it addresses is extra billing. We don't agree that extra billing is the major impediment to accessibility. There are many other sources of difficulty which are more important. And not one of those is addressed in that legislation. [They include] current funding mechanisms, the availability



Scully: "constructive co-operation"

of off-peak treatment, emergency care facilities, mental health facilities, the psychiatric hospital situation, obstetrics, manpower. There is a need for more or better consultation and chronic care outside the acute care institutions. If we don't do something different, or why but is the province will be filled in 10 years' time. That means that you and I won't be able to get treatment.

Maclean's: But it is not the job of government rather than doctors to ensure that medical services are evenly distributed to everyone?

Scully: People don't get what they require. All governments are under financial constraints. The costs have gone up at a rate greater than inflation because of labor contract settlements within the

hospital and community health sectors, [and] because of negotiations between the medical profession and government with respect to the government insurance scheme.

Maclean's: It appears that negotiations between doctors and government have broken down.

Scully: There were many discussions about this, both privately and in small groups, between the OMA and the secretary of cabinet, the premier, the health minister and other cabinet ministers. The premise indicated privately that the government was in a difficult position to provide first dollar coverage [total financial support] for everybody.

Maclean's: The legislation offers doctors a choice to opt out of, or stay in, the public insurance scheme. But it does not allow them to bill above the government insurance rate. Is the issue the freedom to choose how much they charge their patients?

Scully: From my perspective it is not a money issue. The issue is what the legislation empowers the government to do. Where a degree of control has been exercised elsewhere in this country, within 10 to 15 years the quality of care has deteriorated.

Maclean's: Has medical care deteriorated in Quebec?

Scully: Yes, relative to where it was 15 years ago.

Maclean's: Your fees have increased 10 per cent since 1968—considerably more than the rate of inflation.

Scully: That reflects what else is happening in the 1980s. The present five-year contract has been greater than inflation partly because in the 1970s the medical profession was way behind. The contract was intentionally structured as a catch-up. If you look at the actual adjustment for Ontario, it has not been out of line at all.

Maclean's: For at least the past 25 years doctors have been ranked by *Newsweek* Canada as having the highest income in the country. Would your concerns about extra billing be easier to get across to the public if doctors were not so wealthy?

Scully: Not at all. And I don't think the question is pertinent. You keep bringing this back to money. I'm not going to get into a discussion about a physician's income in this context of extra billing. That is a completely separate issue.

Maclean's: What is the moral ground?

Scully: Something between the government position and our position—which is one of constructive co-operation rather than taking shots from the sides or

The Ontario government's health care accountability act (Bill 10) that puts extra billing by doctors could be passed as early as May. Should the bill become law, it would limit fees of as much as \$30,000 for extra billing. Leading the Ontario government's attempt to end the bill, both doctors and the public, is provincial Health Minister Murray Elston.

Maclean's: What is wrong with extra billing?

Elston: Philosophically, the question has to be asked, in Ontario, going to allow that to fall behind the rest of Canada? The other question is, are we going to take ourselves back 20 years and take steps which probably would undermine our medical care program?

We have denied that people who come to live here, people who have been here, whether rich or poor, man or woman, are entitled to receive medical care. It is one of the most prized parts of our social system.

Maclean's: Is it possible that part of the problem might come to that doctors are themselves differently from the way society perceives them?

Elston: I think that, in terms of philosophical assumptions, they are still servants of the patient, that notwithstanding quite clearly that our system is not working to the extent it should. Doctors in Alberta were extra-billing welfare patients. These individuals tell me and the public that our medical insurance program is being undermined, and we can't have that.

Maclean's: How do Ontario physicians feel in British Columbia, where the government told doctors where, geographically, they can practice, or Quebec, where doctors are told how much they can charge, as proof that there is a drift toward greater government control over their professions.

Elston: That's not what the [legislation] is about. It is very short. It's not complicated. The only other thing [apart from banning extra billing] that is in that legislation is a mechanism whereby a governing member of health is required to accept an acceptable and independent way of setting up the fee structure.

Maclean's: Many doctors say they believe that they should be able to function as businessmen. Should they?

Elston: A doctor sets up his clinic on the basis of what his patients can afford to pay. We provide a fair percentage of backing for that business decision. There is not any retailer that can make a decision in the same way that a physician can. We have a health insurance program that guarantees at least a minimum [pay level].

Maclean's: Why is the issue so volatile in Ontario?

Elston: I think this is a major change for some practitioners here. We have a large medical population as well—a very advanced, trained group of physicians. I really do not know why it is more



Elston: "medical care is one of the prized parts of our social system"

volatile here—it may be that the profession wants to take one look back at what its members perceive was a bad decision by the people of Canada in passing the [1984] Canada Health Act unanimously in the House of Commons and in the Senate. I understand that the Canadian Medical Association, with the OMA, is a major driving force with respect to re-negotiation of the Canada Health Act.

Maclean's: Does that mean that what happens in Ontario is pivotal?

Elston: That is probably correct. We clearly have a majority of the people in Canada in a system which prevents extra billing (there are some exceptions to the rest of Canada, and, if you consider it pivotal, then we have to be very sure that we are going to stand behind our national insurance program, behind the principle of accessibility for everybody).

Maclean's: Since July, 1984, Ontario has

withheld \$56 million a year in transfer payments from Ontario because doctors bill private extra billing. Will those lost revenues be collected retroactively if a law is implemented and forwarded into the health care system?

Elston: Yes, any problem that has been withheld until the time this bill is passed will come in as providing that we have got everything worked out by April 1, 1987. The premier, the treasurer and the minister of health are concerned on it. Look at what we could do with the \$50 million per year. \$50 million would let us design a 300-bed acute care facility or 500 chronic care beds. It would help deal

with the major portion of the cost of redevelopment of Princess Margaret Hospital [for cancer treatment in Toronto], which needs some work. The benefits are going to derive to the people of Ontario when we have this legislation in place. It is reasonable where around \$30 to \$40 million held back.

Maclean's: These funds have been double-counted in provincial government's own accounting to understand a powerful lobby that represents an essential profession.

Elston: I do not see a problem with standing behind our promise to not extra bill. We are expanding to a more universal health care system. And to fall back from an insurance program that has been in place 30 years ago would put in under even more pressure

than to remove the bill. There is no question that we are getting pressure from a very powerful lobby. But we have nine million people in Ontario and in terms of what they average for health care, it is that they won't have to take their wallets out before they get their medical treatment. We would have more pressure if we fall off our promise.

Maclean's: If this bill passes, it is conceivable that patient care could suffer as a result?

Elston: Look at the medical statements that were issued in 1981 in Saskatchewan about what was going to happen [when a contract was placed on it]. You're leaving apart our entire system. Saskatchewan has not fallen apart. What happened? [Saskatchewan] built a better system with a medical profession dedicated to serving patients. And Ontario will build a better system.

An outcast in eclipse

When graphic artist Ernst Zandl, then 46, walked out of a Toronto court a year ago, he was smiling broadly. He had just been convicted of wilfully burning racial burners by publishing a pamphlet that questioned whether the genocide of six million Jews during the Second World War had ever taken place. Although the Ontario investigation had been described by District Court Judge Hugh Locke as a neo-Nazi propaganda, Zandl said that he had something to celebrate—the international publicity for his cause generated by the trial. But since then, Zandl has become an embittered man, he says, his cause has been frustrated by his conviction. He dwells at pointing in the basement of his Victorian home in Toronto's Cabbagetown area. The house's windows are fortified with iron bars and wire mesh to cut outside by political opponents. Free as \$20,000 bail while awaiting an appeal of his 15-month sentence, Zandl declared: "Just don't think that the Zandl case is going to die with Ernst Zandl. It's not the end yet."

Zandl's conviction, on charges of "spreading false news," arose from the publication of a 16-page pamphlet titled *Did Six Million Really Die?* The publication alleges that the Holocaust was a hoax designed by Jews to win German reparations for Israel. Zandl, who still keeps copies of the pamphlet in his home, says that the basis of his defense was in effect a fight for freedom of speech. He added that such a defense in the United States would have made him a "champion of the First Amendment. Here, I am a criminal."

Zandl also says that he is suffering from depression. Despite the international publicity given to the trial, Zandl now has to obey a court restraint order not to write or make public statements about the Holocaust—a condition which



Zandl embittered

he tried unsuccessfully to have lifted by the Ontario Supreme Court last month. Declared Zandl: "I am the only writer in the world, including the Soviet Union, who cannot talk about an event that allegedly took place 66 years ago."

But as Zandl awaits his next appeal, to the Ontario Court of Appeal in September, he is still trying to decide what career he will pursue in the future. He also faces possible deportation, but he has appealed that order. Zandl, who says his 1967 request for Canadian citizenship was denied without reason, has lived in Canada since 1958. Meanwhile, his lawyer, Douglas Christie, and James Kengra—the Alberta teacher fined \$5,000 for promoting hatred—have founded the Canadian Free Speech League in Calgary to disavow extremism. Zandl denies reports that he has been invited to join

the group. Indeed, he is considering making his 25-year campaign, claiming that it has left him exhausted and humiliated. "It may be time to retire," he said.

—SHEKIL ARONHEIM in Toronto



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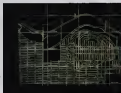
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COLUMN

The case against neutrality

By Barbara Amiel

Last March 30 the CBC finished airing the three-part 1975 series week by journalist Guyenne Dyer in Canada's defence policies. The final show in the series called *The Defence of Canada* summed up Dyer's point of view. He recommended Canada withdraw from NATO and NORAD and become a non-aligned neutral country.

For those of us who have been watching the 1976 political scene over the past 15 years, such conclusions came as no surprise. The 1975 may make hundreds of films on spiritual subjects such as hockey players and prime ministers, but neither as it films have any ideological content, most of them are left-wing. Many films tend to be openly admiring of totalitarian models (Cuba, Nicaragua, the People's Republic of China), while focusing almost exclusively on the problems in Western liberal societies.

However, Dyer's credentials as a journalist and lecturer in war studies make it necessary for critics to treat his film more seriously than just another 1975 rant for "peace in our time." Also, with the recent treaty up for renewal and Star Wars very much a political issue, Dyer's arguments have to be reviewed.

Briefly stated, Dyer argues that military alliances lead to war and so long as Canada has troops located in Europe we automatically risk conflict there. As he sees it, our problem is one of geography—being next door to the United States makes us prime strategic territory. But that, according to Dyer, makes us the responsibility of the United States. Let the United States foot the bill for defence. Meanwhile, Canada will maintain an independent nuclear-free army for its own needs.

Dyer continues and discards various role models for Canadian neutrality. Switzerland doesn't have our problem of living next door to a superpower. Ireland is a strategic territory and copes with the problem by having no army itself and discouraging U.S. military presence from frustrating with its citizens. But that wouldn't work in Canada, where we share the same language and culture as the States. Dyer

urges us in Finland. That country has a strong army of its own and a treaty with its Soviet neighbours in which the Finns pledge to defend the Soviets from any attack made through Finnish territory. A similar arrangement, says

Dyer, could be made between Canada and the United States.

Dyer's ideas are an offshoot of old-fashioned American isolationism, with its deep mistrust of Europe, mixed up with a narrow-minded Canadian nationalism. Added to this is the fashionable theory of moral equivalence.

Moral equivalence sees no difference between the superpowers. The Soviet Union and the United States are both portrayed as evil. Indeed, Dyer is utterly consistent in this moral equivalence—the Third Reich wasn't our enemy, it was the enemy of the British Empire. We only got involved in the Second World War because we had some strategic feelings for Britain. "People told themselves we were fighting for something special," says Dyer. "We believed we were engaged in a moral crusade against evil."

This astonishing analysis of the battle against Herr Hitler may indicate

The 20th century is the story of Western democracies fighting militarism, totalitarianism and the gulag

that Dyer has a view of the rise and fall of the Third Reich. He described the totalitarian mind—the sort of person who can't grasp the nature of totalitarianism. If the Third Reich had been successful, perhaps Dyer would today be negotiating trade agreements with it, even as the chairman at the concentration camps asked about such things would, after all, be European problems.

But a lot of Canadians who fought in the Second World War understood perfectly well what they were fighting for. It wasn't simply reflex loyalty to Britain, as Dyer argues, but loyalty to the values of Western democracy for which Britain stood.

But let's take Dyer's arguments as they appear. He claims that alliances lead to war. Who knows? America had no formal alliances but ended up in both world wars. Britain's neutrality didn't help her much in either war. Tibet and Afghanistan were unaligned and suffered from invasions. Finland is neutral not out of choice but because she was invaded by the Soviets in 1939, when Stalin was an ally of Hitler.

Finns had to accept a Soviet-Finnish pact. To equate the enforced neutrality of Finland with a Canadian alliance with the United States is the equating rape with making love. In both situations the person may be in bed with one another, but surely the circumstances are different?

Also, Dyer's assumption, in his program, that the Americans are most likely to use nuclear weapons first is totally unwarranted and totally unrealistic. America had a nuclear monopoly from 1945 to 1949 and experienced nuclear superiority until the Cuban missile crisis, but never used the bomb. Stalin could never believe his god before.

But let us accept all Dyer's assumptions. Canada declares itself neutral and withdraws from NATO and NORAD is an attempt to begin the domino destruction of the Western alliance. If the two superpowers are equally paranoid, as Dyer believes, why is he so surprised that this destabilization would not set off the nuclear confrontation he decries? Or let us assume that Dyer is right and the Soviets, respecting Canada's neutrality, decide to attack the United States from the South. What would Canada's position be if they won? We would be between the victorious Soviets and the United States: States of America. What then?

Dyer's whole position is based on the idea that there is nothing worth defending "your cause" in Europe. We would think that we have been blessed because, in fighting for the values of Western democracy, we have been able to fight "over there" rather than on our own soil. To many of us, the ideals of liberty and freedom are worth a possible war for Dyer to hold and explain his views are worth defending.

In the end, Dyer's argument is a selfish reason offers for others to protect. If Dyer feels that there really is no such thing as Western democracy, he is wrong. The history of the 20th century is the story of Western democracies fighting Prussian militarism, Nazi totalitarianism and the gulag.

Perhaps, Dyer and the National Film Board think that these things are bogeymen like Frankenstein on late-night movies. Perhaps, they genuinely believe that they don't really exist. But Europe and Asia are stained with the blood of those who wanted freedom and suffered from it. Finland was the English political columnist John O'Sullivan, Dyer's sort of neutrality is really only appeasement in drag.

AN EYEWITNESS TO HISTORY

CANADA/COVER

When Pierre Trudeau and Donald Johnston encountered each other two weeks ago in their downtown Montreal law firm of Horne Blaikie, even the notoriously invertebrate Trudeau could not contain his curiosity about Johnston, a former Trudeau cabinet minister, now about to publish *Up the Hill*, a 300-page collection of political memoirs and ideas. Said Trudeau: "Don, I hear this book is quite critical of me." Replied Johnston, who has known Trudeau for close to 30 years: "No, I think you will find it is very balanced." But Trudeau countered in mock horror: "You don't understand. Don I don't want balance. I want news!" Later, Johnston conceded that, despite the light-hearted nature of their exchanges, "I am a bit nervous about his reaction. This book is going to challenge quite a few people."

With its publication this week, some of the most troubled readers are certain to be senior Liberals who helped Trudeau run the government. Although more than half of *Up the Hill* is given over to Johnston's policy reflections, the political memoirs in the front half with words and assessments of places and people, including a chapter on Trudeau excerpted on the following pages. In keeping with the moody double-emitting title, the political recollections in *Up the Hill* provide a nice reflection of an active MP's frustrations with life in Parliament Hill. Although littered with elegiac writing and cluttered with self-serving accounts of past choices, the book marks one of the few occasions in which a former cabinet minister has knowingly supplied grist for Ottawa's perpetually churning rumor mill. Johnston told *Maclean's*: "I feel glowing, irrelevant and cynical about the way the House of Commons works. I imagine that shines through here in certain ways."

The 60-year-old Johnston has been an associate of Trudeau's since 1957, and Johnston later worked as his personal attorney. He served in four different portfolios under Trudeau and John Turner after his 1978 by-election win in the island stronghold of Saint-Jean-Victorville. Johnston is often unimpaired in his criticism of party politics and such key figures as Trudeau's former principal secretaries, James Coates and Thomas Axworthy, both of whom responded angrily to his comments in interviews with *Maclean's* last week. Despite Johnston's overall admiration for Trudeau, whom he likens to another political lion, Wilfrid Laurier, he also cites examples of some of Trudeau's general failings, including his occasional social ineptitude and propensity for forgetting names.

The most controversial elements of the book include Johnston's gossipy recollections of government and his scathing revelations on where the real decision-making power lies. In the first case, Johnston says the important "policy fellow ministers" that former communications minister James Flanagan was dropped from cabinet in 1983 because the rumor had reached the Prime Minister's Office that "when Joe Coates was defeated in the Spadina by-election in 1981, Flana-

gan was celebrated with champagne." Repeated Coates last week: "I vehemently deny that. It is outright nonsense."

More seriously, Johnston suggests that in the final years under Trudeau power became so centralized in his office that not even Finance Minister Marc Lalonde was told of the 1981 creation of the much-publicized Macdonald royal commission on the economy. And, Johnston says, although he was president of the Treasury Board at the time, he only learned of the government's January, 1981, decision to spend \$1.7 billion acquiring the Petro-Can assets in Canada when he was called to Alberta by a senior federal bureaucrat—after the decision had been made. "I was dumbfounded," he writes. "Good lord, I thought, are my views irrelevant?" Does the cabinet no longer count?

Johnston is equally frank in reflecting the mixture of anger and admiration he felt for Trudeau. At one stage, he quotes from a note he made to himself after a particularly frustrating session with Trudeau: "He is older than we recognize, and time has left its marks. He is an extremely self-controlled, self-censored man and carries little for the incoherence of others if it in any way interferes with his own pursuits. At the same time, he is extremely loyal to his friends and trusted advisors."

In several places in the book reflects Johnston's frustration with what he saw as the gradual emasculation of the powers of cabinet ministers under Trudeau. He argues that the party's political agenda in its successful 1980 general election—which he says Coates and Axworthy controlled—was

"erratic" and "imposed the same perceptions of arrogance and ineffectuality that had led to our defeat in 1979." One result, he concludes, was that, in the last months, the government "did not even pretend to chart a new course [or] react to cases what the electorate felt." Told of these remarks last week, an angry Axworthy, who is now teaching at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., said, "Every single aspect of that is full of crap. We resembled [the party] and we accomplished." Said Coates, now a consultant in Toronto: "I am amazed that Don would have his facts so messed up. He does not seem to understand that because we did not necessarily do the things he wanted does not necessarily mean we did not do anything."

From 1980 to 1984 Johnston held the varied portfolios of Treasury Board, economic and regional development, and science and technology. But despite these positions, some Liberals regarded his performance as disappointing, and his rela-

tionship with Trudeau, the book's greatest failing: "I am not self at times if in my years in Ottawa I have succeeded in making any impact upon the system at all. I cannot come up with a definite answer."

Perhaps strangely, the book's greatest failing lies in the same problem Johnston has experienced as a politician: his inability to bring his private side out in public. Despite its wealth of anecdotes and occasionally insightful observations on Trudeau, *Up the Hill* often comes across as much as it reveals. There is little real insight into the key personalities or some of Johnston's feelings—beyond expressions of anger and frustration.

It is a curious absence because, much like Joe Clark, Johnston is revered by his friends for his self-deprecating wit. The eclectic interests run from a formidable tennis game to a passion for piano-playing and practical jokes. Said Brenda Harris, the sister of John Turner and a close friend of Johnston and his family: "Don is the true Renaissance man. He is interested in everything and can do a little bit of anything." Replied Peter Bakke, a former national president of the Progressive Conservatives: "I cannot imagine Don having an interest, political or personal. He is too good a guy for that." But, as Johnston conceded: "There is a public perception that I am a boring guy interested only in numbers with no chance to speak of it. It is a hard battle to shake off."

Because of some of the comments in *Up the Hill*, that perception may now change in Ottawa. Clearly Johnston, much like another author-politician, Jean Breton, is now contemplating his political future, with a book offering a useful platform while he considers his options. Although fond of his friends expect him to run in the next election, even fewer believe his retirement from politics will be permanent. Johnston is not discussing speculation.

"If it takes the notion that I might be leaving to make people listen to my ideas, then so be it," he declared last week. "I am interested in making events happen in the future." Regardless of where he goes from here: politically, however, the most interesting part of *Up the Hill* is his recollection of where he has already been.

—ANTHONY WILKINSON (SMITH) in Montreal with
MICHAEL ROSE in Toronto and
MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa



Johnston and Trudeau at Selwyn House School in Montreal

tionship with several members of Trudeau's office, including cabinet secretary Michael Pitfield, was strained. He did succeed in inaugurating the 30-and-over restaurant program through the Commons, an anti-inflationary measure that put a cap on increases to federal employees, and to prime and steel subject to federal regulation, over a two-year period. At the same time, his repeated efforts to initiate a complete overhaul of the tax system were rebuffed, leaving him feeling

THE REAL PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

COVER

By Donald Johnston

I marched into his office barely suppressing my rage. Fellow ministers, even some key ones in Montreal, were supporting a transfer of domestic flights from Dorval to Mirabel. To me the proposal seemed so outrageous that even to dignify it with debate was demeaning. At a time when Montreal was at its economic nadir, desperately seeking some small advantage to make it more attractive, and with head offices being lost daily to Toronto, why would anyone add to its problems by making travel more difficult? Mirabel had been a mistake. Everyone outside government knew it at the time. Why compound that multinational dollar gaffe by transferring flights from Dorval at great cost and inconvenience to the travelling public?

When I faced Trudeau squarely with the issue, I received an indifferent reception. He had been briefed and was not about to rise to the complaints of my Westmont business constituents. I had an ace up my sleeve though. "You realize," I said, "that a taxi fare with a modest tip from downtown Montreal to Mirabel is \$16 or \$100 return?"

He raised his eyes to meet mine. As he did so he removed his glasses and placed them before him on the desk. "Are you serious?" he asked in disbelief. I nodded. Those of us with Celtic blood understood such things. For Pierre Trudeau, isolated so long from the real world, \$100 still meant a stylish weekend in New York, a ticket to Europe, perhaps even a second-hand car. I knew that these recommendations the transfer were now into an uphill battle. To this day domestic flights leave from Dorval.

Trudeau is at once a great Canadian and an unfathomable being. The fortunes of the Liberal party have been so intertwined with the life, personality and policies of Pierre Elliott Trudeau that no understanding of the state of the party in the 1980s could be complete without reference to that intimate, complex and often unhappy relationship.

Trudeau set about to accomplish specific objectives and achieved them. While his intentions were benevolent, his focus was narrow. Within that focus he was regularly successful. Trudeau always wanted, in his words, "to be on the right side of history." On the major challenges of this period, he will be.

Appointments: There will be critics, and I know one who will argue that Trudeau's lack of the human touch with his cabinet colleagues, with the provincial premiers, and with business and union leaders, contributed to a perception of arrogance and intellectual disdain. Personal relationships and camaraderie had no place in the Trudeau management style. He treated others rationally, not emotionally. Our feelings or personal chemistry never appeared to get in the way of his Cartesian reasoning. No public person of this period was the match of Trudeau's finely honed intellectual equipment which



JOHNSTON

depended on reason, not on facts. He scrupulously kept his mind uncluttered by unnecessary detail, whether of events or individuals, quite aside to the point of forgetting names, a cardinal sin for most politicians.

Trudeau's organizational style was efficient, disciplined and precise. He went about his tasks methodically, relying on the skills and judgment of trusted advisers in areas where he lacked the necessary expertise in politics or policies. By the time he reached his last mandate that meant that control of the government of Canada was concentrated in the hands of Trudeau. His principal secretaries—Jim Coates and later Tom Awerchuk—Clark of the Privy Council Michael Pitfield and, ultimately, only one member of the cabinet, Marc Lalonde. With few exceptions Lalonde's advice carried on all matters in Quebec and most elsewhere. From time to time appointments Trudeau seldom appeared to take seriously advice from other cabinet ministers if Marc recommended something different.

On the whole, Trudeau seemed to have little more than passing academic interest in the machinery of government and the operation of the bureaucracy. He no doubt believed financial management and accountability to be good objectives, but

potential of 6 & 5 that I wrote a song extolling his virtues. Keith Dewey, in charge of selling the program across the country, overpowered my song (as his strategy with a world premiere recording and release of a recording at our annual music Christmas party. Trudeau eventually knew even less about the 6 & 5 program and only I will write the song, it is easy to see which was the greater success.

Challenges: From time to time Trudeau's interests seemed to fix on challenges other than those which brought him into public life. But his personal focus was always on bringing Quebec into the mainstream and forging a lasting Canadian unity. Notwithstanding the enormous contributions made by Claude Ryan and Jean Chretien, Pierre Trudeau was the field marshal opposite René Lévesque in the war against the Parti Québécois. In the referendum debate culminating in the victory of the "No" forces, it was Trudeau who stood head and shoulders above all others. He delivered the most impassioned and important speeches of his public life. Even his most ardent critics acknowledge that he made an indelible mark upon the history of this country. But did Trudeau's preoccupation with language and the Constitution cause the government to neglect major economic challenges, leaving Canadian business and industry to slip badly in international competition?

Trudeau never had much time for, nor understanding of, business and the free-market economy. With the exception of a select few businessmen whom he regarded as friends of the government, he seemed to tolerate rather than appreciate the business community. Yet, in my opinion, he was instinctively and fundamentally a believer in the free-enterprise market system. He did not see the state as an efficient manager of industrial enterprises. Many seemed to have forgotten his outspoken criticism of the centralization of Shewanigan Power by the Quebec government in 1963. He was really saying the case "if it ain't broke, don't fix it." By 1970, however, offended by disillusion of business support for the Conservative shown in a survey published in *The Provincial Post*, Trudeau and some of his cabinet began to see business interests only as necessary evils. I was not to see any members of the business community, once viewed as important constituents with valid concerns, relegated by the Liberal party to the status of unfriendly adversaries.

Many of us in the cabinet thought this hostility to business sounded more of dictators than of a prime minister. Not so far the Prime Minister. He seemed curiously bored and almost pained by the complaints of bankers and others whom he perceived as receiving poor treatment. Although the record bore him out, he had no interest in trying to tell his story to businessmen. They, in turn, were inept in dealing with him. I recall a round-table discussion with senior businessmen at the Mount Royal Club during the 1979 election campaign. Instead of using this golden opportunity to level with the Prime Minister on the issues that concerned them, they considered his performance. They were in awe of him. He did nothing to improve the situation. After all, what was there to say in the face of such extended "frustration?" Then, in small talk of any kind I met Pierre Trudeau's long suit, and for him business small talk is an anathema.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau inherited the mantle, the issues and the conflicts of Wilfrid Laurier. The two men were alike in several ways. Laurier's management style as a Prime Minister, his tolerance of failures in those he trusted, his unacknowledged

Johnston and (left) Trudeau in 1982. "We saw the lion side"

as long as statistics told him we were doing well by comparison with the past and with what was happening elsewhere, these subjects did not engage him.

Grief: Attempts by ministers to add to the agenda set by Trudeau's interests frequently came to grief. Undermined at every turn, their carefully planned projects were derailed by the PCO under Michael Pitfield, who did not hesitate to speak unthinkingly in the name of the Prime Minister. Were these actions aimed out with Trudeau's blessing, or was he simply indifferent? I never knew the answer to that question.

The publication of the Constitution and the introduction of the National Energy Program (NEP) dominated the agenda in the first two years of the mandate. In the meantime, the recession and runaway inflation were screaming for government action. The response to the 6 & 5 budget program was a singular success. Happily it too received Trudeau's full attention. As president of the Treasury Board, and therefore responsible for implementing the program, I was delighted by his interest. For my own part, I was so enthusiastic about the

Intellectual superiority among his peers and, above all, his refusal to speak of all those who differed with him as envious lions, all these striking similarities in Trudeau's management style and personal philosophy. For example, despite the media's repeated attempts to find evidence suggesting a bitter relationship between Trudeau and John Turner, Trudeau gave them nothing to support it. Never did I hear him utter a disparaging word about Turner.

After our 1979 debate, Pierre Trudeau and I were in the town of Malone Bay, N.S., in the overwhelmingly Conservative South Shore region. Despite his reputation for the local voters, it was as though a bomb had been dropped. People sought him out in stores and on the streets for autographs and handshakes. It was the same everywhere we went. Trudeau, the man, like Turner before him, triumphed far above and beyond the political process.

Shadows In each case the man had become the party. If a football team could win through the efforts of a star quarterback alone, the other players would soon become fat, lazy and ineffective, their incompetence camouflaged in the shadow of the great leader, and fundamentalists of team spirit forgotten. So it is in politics. Unlucky, organizers slip quietly away. Aggressive fund-raising becomes less significant as parasites and profiteers take over, carrying fame and winning the vast spoils of positions of influence. The energy of the party, as evident and crucial during the accession to power, rapidly dissipates.

While Trudeau's strengths camouflaged the party's weaknesses, they also hid from view the afflictions of many ministers. It was common for the need to keep them on and their devotion upon the ministers who sat at the table with Trudeau. That constant barrier no doubt contributed to our deteriorating fortunes. In fact, the press knew little of the capacities of these men and women, or of the time and energy they expended in carrying out their duties. The public, misinformed by the media, tended to view the cabinet as a bunch of also-rans. That was far from being an accurate reflection of reality. Many of my colleagues were exceptionally able. Unfortunately, most have now left public life and the line has been greyed.

Regrets Trudeau will always remain an enigma to me and to future historians. At most we will capture small glimpses from many sources and attempt to piece them into a complete picture, as Richard Gwyn did with some success in his entertaining book *The Northern Man*. Anecdotal material on Trudeau's personality, his difficulty with small talk, his shyness, his intellectual powers, and his taste for young women are all widely circulated, exaggerated in some instances, understated in others. As with others of his generation and accomplishment, the full measure of the man will never be known.

I first met Trudeau in May, 1967, on a two-month World University Service trip to West Africa. I had won a scholarship to attend as a McGill student. Trudeau had been invited to participate by the leader of the annual summer conference at Puvion's in Quebec. The setting group of 40-odd students, stipendials and teachers from all over North America congre-

gated in New York at the outset for a series of orientation lectures. When I arrived in the conference room in New York City, Trudeau was sitting by himself at the back of the room absorbed in his thoughts. As we introduced ourselves awkwardly, I became aware that Trudeau was neither a student nor an organizer nor a teacher. Why, I wondered, is he here?

I never did find out what Trudeau's specific duties were but he added interest to our adventure and, as history has shown, an important dimension for many who first struck up a friendship with him in West Africa. His basic shyness was



Turner and Trudeau (left) meet: no "handshakes" suggesting a bitter relationship

gradually broken down by those who became close to him. We debated the Quebec issue and other serious matters at length but also saw the fun side of Trudeau, pursuing wit into the night with him at local clubs in Acadia. He seemed bent on adventure and, having already travelled like so much extensively, he knew what to do or say in any situation. I gave up a feeling of security just to have him as a travelling companion. I enjoyed his company and developed a great respect for his intellectual ability over the course of that summer, but it never occurred to me that he would one day be Prime Minister of Canada, as far as I could tell, had it occurred to him.

It is difficult to recognize the city, with Trudeau's shadow of that trip with the spectacular performance fifteen have witnessed over the years at press conferences, television inter-

views and from public platforms. I liken him to the actors of the Stenislavski school who played dramatic complexity into the role to be played. Playing roles may also account for his loss of contact with his wife which most public figures would shrink from for fear of being photographed in unbecomingly intimate scenes. He has won a cup at one Gey Cup, a Dutch Boy hat at the next and western garb at the Calgary Stampede. Among his most informal was the "Great Gatsby" parties he gave at the Williamsburg Residence Society.

At times Trudeau's demeanor can be hard to handle, espe-

cial personality who down that turn, quitted Aristotle and wandered the stage in his quest for knowledge.

Unfortunately, the evening did not go according to plan. The quest of honor failed to perform. As Hag tells it, Trudeau spent most of the evening leaning against a wall, unconcerned, an enigmatic smile on his face, while the female guests hovered on the periphery, waiting to meet the great man but afraid to approach. "What Trudeau was engaged with an attack of shyness, was preoccupied with concerns of a more serious nature or was obviously enjoying his own refusal to play the game his hosts had prepared for him. Hag could not tell me I wondered whether Trudeau's behavior that evening had inspired the author's explosive that found its way into President Nixon's White House tapes.

Awkward Although Trudeau is a great performer at times, there are situations in which, because of the setting, the chemistry or his own will, he is remarkably awkward and out of place. But place Trudeau in a debate and then watch. He is a skilled debater, vicious with those whom he needs to destroy in the party and threat of verbal exchanges. True and again I have seen him some who irritate, misinterpret or misinterpret in an opponent's argument, skillfully dissect it, and watch as the whole merit of his opponent's argument collapses.

When dealing with those he considers peers, or with those he believes should know better, he is seldom at the attack. With others, especially children, he is warm, kindly and gracious, and could aptly be described as a gentleman of the old school. It is a characteristic seldom seen by the general public, who have more commonly seen a combative and arrogant person. How are clients with shyness, not how one deals with peers, in a true test of one's character.

Confidence I have learned from personal experience to exercise caution in arguing with Pierre Trudeau. Perhaps hoping to calm my inflated feelings the day he appointed Marc Lalonde as minister of finance (which turned out to be a brilliant choice), Trudeau invited me to lunch alone with him at St. James. In the course of the meal, I raised my concerns about the flight of businessmen, professionals and the entrepreneur from the Liberal party. Trudeau nodded and waited. With the word in my mind I continued. To hammer the point home I stated that the business community in more than 100,000 dollars had been expressed from the bank president to the dispenser (corner grocer) in the St. Jean's section of my riding, who believes that our government is internationalist and anti-business. "Yes," I said, "the entrepreneurial spirit beats in the heart of the dispenser as much as it that of the captain of industry, after even more when the latter in more of a corporate business, that is, the entrepreneur."

That was the opening he had been waiting for. Trudeau replied somewhat as follows: "I believe I understand why some of the large business interests may be uncomfortable with a number of our programs, perhaps the MFT and elements of the MacKenzie-Blackley, but I am puzzled by this hostility towards us of you dispenser friend in St. Jean. Could you elaborate?"

I knew I was in trouble. I set about to explain that the spirit



Johnston at reception with Mackenzie and Fleming (1982): "I don't believe"

dially for those who believe that social gatherings are for small talk, however banal. Trying to produce small talk with Trudeau at a stand-up cocktail reception has proved disconcerting for the most accomplished social lions. "Is it a real party?" doesn't seem quite appropriate, nor does, "I enjoyed Earl's Christmas party, didn't you?" Perhaps somewhere in between. But if you are lucky, someone will come to the rescue.

Dishonest Even on the international scene Trudeau had his problems with social gatherings. Alexander Hag told me about his first White House meeting with Trudeau. Trudeau's reputation as a wealthy business leader had preceded him to Washington. In consequence, the evening's event had been stocked with women anxious to meet this sucking new interna-

of the outgroup has little to do with the size of the business. "It is ignored and misread," I said, "by the spirit of the man who wishes to make his own independent way and resents heavy taxation and regulatory intervention by government." I hoped that would put the matter of the dispenser to rest. It did not.

Tradeau continued:

"Are you saying, Don, that the premises of the MacFadden budget with respect to interest deductions and so on had an adverse impact on that dispenser brand of yours? Besides, I always thought that our tax rates for small business were quite generous and, in fact, better than those in the United States. Am I wrong?"

Example: I felt like answering, "Forget about the damned dispenser. It was a bad example." I had lost. I knew it and he knew it. I returned to my soap. However, interested in the entrepreneur, the money store owner or the banker he might have been, he was much more interested in winning the debate. That was not the only time I came out on the short end of such an exchange.

Despite my admiration for the man, sometimes his office, his actions, his attitudes and his general behavior brought my anger to the surface. In September, 1983, I dictated some notes

to myself about Pierre Tradeau. I had just returned from Quebec City. I was in the midst of planning the Canada Tomorrow Conference on Technology, a national event designed to bring together business, government, academics and experts from the science community to address the challenges of the new technology. The Prime Minister had been invited to deliver the opening address. With six short weeks to go to a national conference, his office had still not confirmed his participation. The following credited excerpt from my note illustrates the frustration this situation evoked.

'Angry: "In all, the rejection upon my own petition, the attitude in the party, the attitude of the Prime Minister, etc., are angry and frustrated, most recently over the failure of the Office of the Prime Minister to confirm whether or not he will speak at the opening of the conference on science and technology to be held in November. He's had the invitation since August. I had speaking notes prepared for him by Douglas Patterson, as he requested, which were delivered early in September and he himself indicated during our meeting in March last that he would be interested in participating. I am now told at this point that there may be a conflict in the dates. Frankly, I find this kind of procedure and performance quite unacceptable and suspect that it is simply a reflection of the incompetence and insensitivity of his staff and also perhaps a

COVER

certain hostility of his staff towards me or towards my office. "Recently, while I have maintained my admiration for the man in terms of his intellectual capacity, his shrewdness of meetings, etc., I am singularly struck by the flaws which run so clearly through his character over the charisma and mystery he swept away. He appears to lack imagination and he seems clearly devoid of really gut feelings except when they concern a politician or a politician-like for someone who has 'not' his throat.' The number of the latter seems to grow exponentially whether it be politicians or businessmen. This is, I suspect, a result of carrying too much baggage over too many years to the point where it is almost impossible to differentiate himself from history. The lessons of history which we do not like to see repeated can often become a prison and that is where the PM currently finds himself."



With Jeremy Carter (1979) and (below) with Levesque in 1987. "Junkies"

on level because he understands it. At the macro level he is devoid of understanding the issues which motivate private investors. He again is quite insensitive and has no understanding or grasp of the motivations of certain individuals. It is indeed sad because he would be so good. But he has become stupid and, I believe, too impatient ever to undergo a real learning experience at this stage in his life.

"He is determined to rely upon his analytical equipment rather than a knowledge base and if he can destroy or wound an argument which he doesn't like with a quick logical thrust he would rather do so than have to wrestle with the fundamental merits of his adversary's position."

'Sad: "I recognize that these are sad commentaries but alas they are true beyond doubt. He is older than we recognize and time has left its marks. He is an extremely self-centered, self-reliant man and aware little for the inconvenience of others if it in any way interferes with his own pursuits. At the same time he is extremely loyal to friends and trusted advisers."

As it turned out, Tradeau did speak at the conference but, to our surprise, not with the text we had prepared upon his request. Instead of dealing with the challenges and the opportunities technology presents, his remarks focused almost entirely upon the protection of workers, only one of many key issues. The social democrats in the Prime Minister's Office had struck again.

Winston Churchill's description of Russia as a "middle wrapped in a mystery made an engine" would also be an apt way of describing Pierre Elliott Trudeau. He has so many facets as a well-cut dia-

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With (left) Lalonde and Peter Lougheed "with few exceptions Lalonde's advice carried"

most. Some we know. Others we suspect but do not see. He confided surprises, disappointments, delights and anger.

I mentioned Trudeau's proclivity for confusing names. During the electoral campaign in 1978, he visited the riding of Fortelieu, a seat now held by Roland Duce, who subsequently became my parliamentary secretary. At the end of a roving speech on the merits of the candidate, Trudeau exclaimed, "and that is why I want you to support my old friend Lord Duce." There followed an embarrassed silence, especially for Roland Duce. Any further effort by being confused with one of Quebec's eminent constitutional authorities was entirely lost on him.

Precocious. Trudeau's penchant for forgetting names beyond people's names. In June of 1978, on the eve of St. Jean Baptiste Day, he presided the ceremony of Banquet to celebrate the 50th anniversary. After the banquet he addressed the crowd, ending with the exhortation, "Vive de plus de Banquet."

The gaffe Trudeau committed with respect to names are all the more surprising because of the man's prodigious memory. He never takes notes or jingles himself on remembering even detail of significant events. It is with great satisfaction that he recalls the circumstances of a particular adventure. This is only extended by his satisfaction in correcting someone else's

recollection of the same event.

While forgetful of names that may be inconsequential to him, his mental filing cabinet is impressive. For example, in January of 1977 he spoke at the Château Frontenac in the Quebec Chamber of Commerce. Jean-Marie Charest introduced the Prime Minister in a self-deprecating manner, declaring himself to be a simple *vacancier* (known). Trudeau graciously responded by saying Mr. Charest would never be *vacancier* as far as he was concerned. Much later the same Mr. Charest came to Ottawa as part of a delegation from Quebec City to meet Ottawa's Vice-President, Walter Mondale. Trudeau immediately identified him, much to Charest's surprise and delight.

Trudeau remembers what he wants to remember.

Seben. Trudeau always protected his loyal troops. He never hesitated to rise during Question Period to defend the actions of a minister or a member, and he did so with an impetuous subtlety that quickly disoriented the questioner, and sometimes the opposition. Shortly after my arrival in the House of Commons in the autumn of 1978, Bryce Mackay was named chairman of Air Canada. The appointment met with immediate and almost universal criticism. The Conservative opposition was quick to jump on the issue. On Dec. 15, David MacDonald, in questioning the Prime Minister, suggested that Trudeau had "probably degenerated both the independence and objectivity, and possibly the efficiency of Air Canada in view of Mr. Mackay's" "Working from the back bench, I wondered how Trudeau would handle this sticky patronage issue."

He rose. "Mr. Speaker, I did note that [MacDonald] said the word cabinet minister to the chairmanship of the board of Air Canada. I do not remember the honorable member saying to the honorable Bryce Mackay, when he was a minister or present in the House, that he was not an honorable member but was not an eligible or capable man. Therefore, I can only conclude that in the mind of the honorable member, a man who has served his country well in the House of Commons is not competent to serve his country well in other pursuits. This is not the view of the government."

On another occasion, I readily remember how he came to my defense in the Liberal caucus. While cabinet consultations are subject to the 30-day immunity rule, there is no similar prescription for caucus. I trust my colleagues will forgive me for providing this small glimpse of Trudeau in this environment. After my appointment as president of the Treasury Board, Bill McWhinney, then a deputy secretary of the board and now senior vice-president of the Canadian International Development Agency, came to see me. Bill is a grant of a man possessed of great intelligence and no less a sense of humor.

We have an outstanding woman candidate for the NDP program," he said (that was the acronym for the Temporary Assignment Pool, a kind of 1980's squad of about 40 extremely capable and frequently brilliant bureaucrats under the pur-

view of the Treasury Board, assigned on a temporary basis to various other departments to challenging projects since I never have been considered previously as appointments to it). I asked Bill why he was seeking my approval. "There are some political considerations," he answered. "You see, this particular candidate is Pierre Alain Lucas, a former candidate for the Progressive Conservative party in the Quebec riding in the 1977 by-election. You have responsibility for the NDP program, you might get some fish if she is hired."

I was thunderstruck. Pierre Alain and I had dated many years before during our bachelor days and she was a friend of long standing. She had also been a friend of Trudeau's. Her intelligence, intelligence and wit made her a superb candidate for the NDP program. We were also trying to increase the number of women in the bureaucracy. There remained only the political problem. "Bill, had it not been for this political question, would you have hired her on the basis of her credentials?"

"Absolutely," he answered.

"Then do it," I replied.

More than a year later, Pierre's name surfaced in an Ottawa Citizen column entitled "Bureaucrats," where mention was made of her appointment to a senior post in the PCS. Sure enough, some members of the caucus were up in arms. I was forewarned that the matter would be raised by Jacques-Olivier, chairman of the Quebec caucus.

The next day Jacques-Olivier rose in national caucus and addressed the Prime Minister in the strongest terms regarding the appointment. He stressed the activities of "some ministers" who did not appreciate how demoralizing it was to loyal troops that a defeated Conservative should receive better treatment from the government than a defeated Liberal. As he spoke I noted down what he would say in rebuttal. I was about to rise when Trudeau stood up. He was an unimpaired but welcome

Impossible. He advised the caucus that he had personally verified the record of Pierre Lucas' employment by the federal government. Furthermore, he added, her qualifications were impeccable; she had been approved by the Public Service Commission and, in keeping with the neutrality of the public service, it was quite appropriate that she should have been hired as a TAP officer. She progressed from there, he explained, on the strength of her own talents and abilities. Trudeau then challenged caucus members to justify the demand of employment to someone like Pierre Lucas, a capable, bilingual woman who would clearly make a solid contribution. Finally, after a lengthy pause he added "Besides, Pierre's has been, one might say, a friend of the family for many years."

That final touch, delivered in a tone rich with ambiguity, brought an admiring titter from the caucus. The game was never closer again. It was as if the mere raising of the question of Pierre Lucas had been an invasion of private ministerial privacy. It was a clean act and there were many more like it.

Just. Trudeau's joy in being with children is genuine. It is not exaggerated. His shorn pate and proximity not associated with his public persona. Visiting with us in Nova Scotia, he delighted in taking away some children swimming. They numbered no fewer than eight and sometimes more. He would supervise them, instruct them and entertain them by the hour. That would be followed by a game of "kick the can," where he did not pretend to have expertise. In fact, his competitive instincts made him lose of a success there than in the pool. Not venturing far enough from the can to round up the others, he was soon dubbed "base-striker" by the kids. It's a game where to win, you have to gamble. Whatever the obvious did, he joined in, not out of a sense of duty, but with a youthful exuberance seldom seen in a young parent, let alone a senior statesman.

Pierre Trudeau is an ambivert physically as he is intellectually. An accident on Gold River, Nova Scotia, in the summer of 1978, will always be inscribed vividly in my memory. My wife, Heather, Pierre and I had taken eight small children,

With Queen Elizabeth and (right) Pittfield signing Constitution in 1982. "dominated agenda"



including his three boys and two of four girls, and a baby-sitter to a swimming hole on a beautiful stretch of river near Chester. The spot was deep in a gorge below white water and could only be reached down the road by a long, steep, winding trail through heavy spruce growth.

Unbeknownst to a gang of local toughs, remnants of the lawless depicted in the film *Deliverance*, had decided that Gold River was a good location for an afternoon drink. When we passed three of them on the trail carrying sherry from a bottle, they recognized Trudeau and followed us down to the swimming hole. Trudeau and the children had been swimming so they plunged right into the river. Heather, who had planned to change in the bushes, was now having second thoughts. Two of the toughs snatched over to her and, nodding in my direction, lecherously asked:

"That guy has body-guard!" Heather quite liked that lesson and did nothing to change his mind.

Action: Observing the whole scene from a large rock about distance away from the shore, I suddenly realized that the one they called Terry was sending his compassionate down-stream to invite the rest of the gang to join him for some untidy and arduous. They soon appeared, walking, wading and paddling upstream in rubber inner tubes, carrying beer and sherry bottles. They were drunk, swaggering and loud. I knew we were in for trouble.

Trudeau and the others were oblivious to the gang's arrival, immersed themselves from the water and asked Heather to take the children up the trail to the mansion as quickly as possible. Pierre begged to tie the shoelaces of one of his boys and I stayed with him. That's when Terry made his move. He snatched up to us, a drunken drunken back-stabber not far behind. "You're Trudeau, isn't it?" Trudeau acknowledged his identity. "What would happen if I just passed you out right now?" asked Terry, moving toward Trudeau. He now stood between us and the trail back to our vehicle.

Pierre Trudeau's eyes narrowed. With one act, he stepped up to Terry and put his chest flat under the bully's nose. With clear blue eyes fixed on Terry's bleary ones, Canada's 15th Prime Minister threatened through clenched teeth "Just you try it!" Terry was somewhat taken aback at this and Trudeau moved uncharacteristically past him onto the trail, his son Justin in hand and me close behind.

The challenge had no so direct. I was sure Terry and his gang would soon recover their wits and charge after us. Trudeau, however, seemed unconcerned and simply observed to me that we now had the high ground on a narrow trail and could easily handle a gang of drunks one by one. I sensed he would have almost welcomed the opportunity. Trudeau was no

buffet. We came within a hair of a fight, the outcome of which I prefer not to contemplate, but Pierre had won the day. Whether it is in cabinet, at a first ministers' conference, at an international summit or on a lonely stretch of riverbank miles from nowhere, Trudeau will not back down or run away from a fight.

Trudeau also has a disproportionate capacity for self-assessment. He knows his own strengths and uses them skillfully, although he did admit after the Gold River incident that he should remember he is in his fifties. He also knows his weaknesses, seldom exposing them to adversaries. Above all, even after 26 years as Canada's Prime Minister there is not a trace of pompous self-importance. I doubt that many trust the corridors of power and know, as he did, assembly outbursts and unchanged by the press, postage, privilege and, in Trudeau's case, international acclaim often bordering on adulation. Many in public life are explored by their own press clippings and the flirtation with power which does not belong to them but for which they are merely custodians of the public trust. But not Trudeau. Like Harry Truman, he remembers who he is and where he came from.

Perspective: On the international stage Trudeau transformed his egoistic but rigorous self-assessment to the country itself. He knew Canada's measure in the international community and the effective role it could play in the East-West dialogue as well as in the North-South dialogue. He never over-sold Canada's position. As a result, our country emerged from Trudeau's stewardship widely respected around the globe. Canadians who travel abroad quickly realize this.

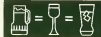
Trudeau's detractors are many, his supporters fewer. In truth, it will be years before the full impact of his contribution can be understood. I summarized my own feelings at the Liberal leadership convention in these words: "I was the Prime Minister while here on the 10th anniversary of the death of his election to the leadership of this party. 'Who is Trudeau?' His outstanding character personalities the striking contrast of his nature. He is warm. He is cold. He is kind. He is severe. But, above all, he is honest with himself and with others. These qualities we treasure because they reflect our national character. And then I added, in French, 'Pierre Elliott Trudeau, by the nobility of his thoughts, his sense of history and his understanding of today's realities, has conferred upon Canada an importance which truly matches his name.'"

Unless he tells his own story, we shall continue to have an obscure picture of the man himself. Even then, he may prefer to perpetuate the mystery and leave historians with the question: "Who was Pierre Elliott Trudeau?"

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A ringing slap at success

Before the glow was dimmed by an ill-timed slap, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's visit to Washington last week had a happy end. It seemed less like an official reprieve and more as though two treated friends, Bush and Mulroney, had just dropped in on each other and, being American and Canadian government officials, spoke of the "warm personal relationship" between Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan, who spent a total of six hours together. During welcoming ceremonies on the White House lawn, Mulroney, surveying the flag-waving crowd, the Marine band and joint service honor guard, beamed across and told the President,



Mulroney and Reagan with Nancy and Mike, a deal on acid rain and renewed commitment to trade

"That's a gorgeous night." That night during a gala state dinner at the White House, Reagan wistfully noted that Mulroney's 57th birthday was two days old. "And president," Mulroney said, "I wish you the very best."

But even before Mulroney's return to Ottawa later in the week, opposition critics questioned whether laughter negotiating rather than bitterness diplomatically might not have given Mulroney greater leverage on bilateral issues ranging from trade and acid rain to free trade. And is a jarring contrast to the amicable relations between the two leaders, the closing stages of Mulroney's visit were marked when word spread that Sandra



Gotlief with Shelly (left) at dinner after the state branch of decorum

Gotlief, wife of Canadian Ambassador to the U.S. Gotlief, in a scolding breach of diplomatic decorum—slapped an American member of the embassy staff on the face as guests arrived at the ambassador's residence for a dinner given by Mulroney in honor of Vice President George Bush.

Most of the dinner guests, who included Secretary of State George Shultz and Katharine Graham, chairman of the Washington Post Co., were known to the president. But about a dozen people, including photographers

According to Price, a visibly upset Coover then ran down the front steps and re-entered the embassy by a back door. A few minutes later Mrs. Gotlief—who has a reputation for sometimes being outspoken and impetuous—followed after Coover.

Price said that the two women then reappeared at the front entrance acting "like nothing had happened." But Price said that Coover's hair was a mess and her face was red.

The next morning Canadian Embassy spokesman Bruce Phillips, a former TV Ottawa news anchor, issued a terse statement acknowledging that "as a result of a purely personal character" occurred between the dinner. The statement added that "the incident was immediately regretted, an apology extended at once and at once accepted, and the issue was immediately resolved." The next day the episode was reported prominently in major American newspapers. It was also a hot

item of gossip in Washington. Told of the slap, Susan Mary Alsop, a leading Washington socialite, commented, "Sandra Gotlief must have been very tired, in all I can say."

Still, Mulroney claimed that his visit to Washington for his fifth meeting—and second formal summit—with Reagan began taking off on its second and last pre-dawn inspection achievement. Those included a renewed U.S. commitment to talks on voluntary bilateral trade, a five-year renewal of the nuclear military defense agreement and Reagan's recognition, for the first time, of acid rain as a serious environmental problem.

In another announcement designed to fire the public imagination and spur Canadian high-tech research, Mulroney revealed that Canada will participate with Japan and several European countries in the construction and operation of a permanent, manned U.S. space station. Despite the government's preoccupation with the \$34.3-billion federal deficit, Mulroney said that Canada will spend about \$900 million during the next 10 years to develop a mobile servicing centre for the space station.

But the most carefully orchestrated event of the summit was Reagan's endorsement of a report that recognized and drew on a remarkable political position and recommended that the United States launch a five-year, \$2-billion program to find ways to control it. The 20-page report was commissioned at the Quebec City summit meeting between Mulroney and Reagan last year and prepared by Reagan's and run away, Drew Lewis, and former Ontario Premier William Davis. Davis critics argued that Reagan's endorsement did not concern Washington is any role in solving the environmental crisis, which are believed to be the major cause of acid rain. Instead, they noted, Reagan only promised to try to persuade Congress to appropriate the \$2-billion out of the recommended program. The other half of the \$2-billion total would have to be provided voluntarily by U.S. industries. "It's just an exercise in public relations. There's really nothing here," charged Adria Marley, co-director of the Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain, said New Mexico, a Democratic congressman from California. "What I fear is that it may be a setback for efforts in Congress to get a control program."

During the visit, Mulroney reserved his greatest display of charm for separate meetings with members of the Senate foreign relations committee and the House foreign affairs committee, none of whose members can propose a veto of U.S.-Canadian trade talks. Mulroney met in closed sessions for two hours with the U.S. legislators to discuss some 300 protectionist bills

in Congress to restrict Canadian trade in lumber, fish and other products. Representative Dan Rostenko, a Democrat from lumber-rich Washington State, told Mulroney that such "subsidy problems" as low stumpage fees paid by Canadian firms for cutting timber on provincial land had to be addressed before, or during, free trade negotiations. Mulroney's reply, Rostenko complained, was "warm and grateful but not very specific."

During the visit, American officials were adamant in their insistence that all issues—including a host of Canadian economic assistance programs that Washington regards as subsidies—



Mulroney and O'Hall professional proposals aimed at Canadian products

must be on the bargaining table during trade talks. And evidently Mulroney did not make much of an impression on Senator Claiborne Pell, a Rhode Island Democrat, who emerged from a meeting with Mulroney only to tell his news-wire: "We're very lucky to have Mulroney as Prime Minister," said the senator, "because he got into office not by American-banking but by saying loud words about us."

Still, Mulroney succeeded in winning a prediction from Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, the powerful speaker of the House of Representatives, that Congress was unlikely to stall trade negotiations. And Reagan repeated his support for negotiating the broadest possible trading arrangement, "while recognizing that we are separate countries, each with its own national pride."

The extension of the NORAD trade drew sharp criticism in Ottawa. The reason was the Mulroney government's failure to insist on a clause that would have prevented Canadian re-

volvement in the U.S. Star Wars defense system. New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent charged that under the treaty, Canada could be "tied willy-nilly into Star Wars," the proposed U.S. space-based ballistic missile defense system formally known as the Strategic Defense Initiative. Well-known Canadian government sources said that Canada had wanted the two countries to make a joint statement avoiding any linkage between NORAD and Star Wars by reasserting U.S. support for the 1972 U.S.-Soviet Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. But the Americans refused, so Gotlief was on the telephone until 2:30 a.m. Tuesday with a

Major American officials discussing the details of separate statements.

In the end, Mulroney—in what areas control critics branded a weak compromise—issued a statement Wednesday, aimed to coincide with the signing of the NORAD treaty, noting that the two leaders had "underlined the importance of full compliance with existing arms control obligations." Clearly, in the face of strong U.S. pressure, Ottawa had opted for the maintenance of good relations with Canada's powerful neighbor. But as Mulroney returned to Ottawa, media reports of the embassy incident did not edgewise the results of the summit itself, while in Parliament opposition critics angrily portrayed the Prime Minister as far too much an impression American interests—an impression that could in itself prove a damaging slap at the government's credibility.

—KEN WAGGONER with JAY KURTIN and MARCI RECONGOLI in Washington and HELEN MACDONALD in Ottawa

Showdown in St. John's

The confrontation had been brewing for four years between Premier Brian Peckford's government and the 14,000-member Newfoundland Association of Public Employees (NAPÉ). The issue was salary levels and controversial legislation that severely limits the right of some public service workers in the province to go on strike. And last week the conflict escalated. About 3,500 clerical and technical workers defied the law and went on strike—bringing the total number of public sector workers on the picket line to about 5,500—and the provincial government arrested 47 strike leaders and their supporters. The rapidly spreading strike brought government business in St. John's to a virtual standstill and confronted Peckford's Conservative administration with the worst labor crisis of its seven years in office.

The latest round of arrests, which brought to 123 the total charged since public service workers began striking earlier in the month, came when police in St. John's rounded up people outside of the Confederation Building on charges of illegal picketing.

Among those who were arrested, finger-pointed and then released, was Peter Pawley, leader of the provincial New Democratic Party. John Fagan, Ottawa-based president of the 350,000-member National Union of Provincial Government Employees, and NAPP president Fayser Ward, Moncton, N.B., also were arrested. Peckford said a cheering demonstration of about 2,000 government employees. "We are close today to living in a police state," he said. "We also warned Peckford that 'he's sitting on a volcano. And if we don't get back to the bargaining table and negotiate reasonably, then I can't be held responsible for what's going to happen.'"

At the heart of the dispute is the government's tough 1983 amendment to the province's Public Service Collective Bargaining Act, which requires that strike action would be illegal.

criment to negotiate which union members should be designated as essential workers. Under the amendment, known as Bill 39, designated workers are forbidden to strike. Disputes over wage parity also helped to trigger the crisis. Some provincial highway laborers currently earn \$6.88 an hour, while hospital laborers with equivalent skills, who negotiated their contract before a government wage freeze, make \$9.46. The Peckford government ordered a two-year freeze on public service salaries in 1984 in an effort to reduce government spending.

That decision led to a lawsuit in St. John's local court representing 3,700 highway maintenance and public works crews and the white-collar technical and clerical workers who had not negotiated new contracts before the freeze was imposed. In January members of both units voted to strike—although NAPÉ's decision not to designate any of its members as essential workers meant that strike action would be illegal.

Then on March 3, after 21 months of fruitless negotiations, picket lines went up as some 1,200 highway employees launched an illegal strike. Within hours the Newfoundland Supreme Court issued a back-to-work injunction, and Peckford's government warned that workers who did not return to work would face 30-day suspensions and possible fines. The suspension meant 800 high-collar workers walked off the job.

As the confrontation grew more heated, Peckford appealed for an end to the strike and said the government was holding exploratory talks with the union. Later two government ministers sat down with union negotiators at the provincial labor department. But at week's end about 1,000 cheering protesters held a demonstration outside the legislature and 50 provincial court employees joined the strike. At the same time, 108 Newfoundland labor leaders met with representatives of the Canadian Labour Congress to discuss strategy options—including a possible walkout by the 8,300 remaining basic workers William Perreault, president of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour, warned that such a walkout could come as early as the end of this week if the government doesn't begin formal negotiations.



March's police action

A close call for Pawley

Howard Pawley was in a buoyant mood as he strode into a corner room in a hotel in the Wanchap neighborhood of St. Boniface that served as election-night headquarters for Manitoba's New Democratic Party. Return from last week's provincial election showed that Pawley's NDP government—trailing the Conservative opposition by 30 percentage points in polls taken midway through its first term—had rebounded to form a government with a reduced majority. Said the 53-year-old premier: "You would never have believed 18 months ago that we would be here to celebrate this evening." As 600 supporters cheered, his wife, Adele, then stuck a pin in Pawley's lapel that proclaimed, "I'm back by popular demand."

But the thin margin of victory—giving the government a two-seat majority if it names a speaker from NDP ranks—cast a shadow over the joyous celebrations. Despite Pawley's last-minute hint of major gains by the New Democrats, they took only 36 seats in the 57-seat legislature, down from 34 in the 1981 election when they defeated Sterling Lyon's Tory administration.

The Conservatives under party leader Gary Filmon won 26 seats—three more than in 1981. At the same time, the NDP's share of the popular vote dropped six points to 41 per-

centage, fewer than 5,000 voters separated the New Democrats and the Tories, and only 390 votes in two key ridings gave the victory to Pawley. Said NDP president Brian Glesne: "Some of our supporters were overconfident, some stayed home and some voted Liberal."

Indeed, Liberal leader Sharon Carstairs' feat in winning the Wanchap riding of the River Heights was the most startling event in the election. By defeating Tory incumbent Warren Street, the 50-year-old Carstairs, a former schoolteacher who was elected party leader in 1984, became the first Liberal west of Ontario to hold a seat in a provincial legislature since 1981. Her victory, declared federal Liberal Leader John Turner, showed that the party's "revival process is starting to take root."

But as slow as it was, Pawley's victory represented a remarkable comeback. In 1983 Pawley's two-year-old government generated a political crisis over a plan to restrict French-language rights in the provin-



The premier with wife, daughter: a low-key approach

cent—just fractionally ahead of the Tories. And the resurgent Liberals, electing their first member to the provincial legislature in seven years, doubled their share to 14 per cent. After

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old constitution and expand services for Manitoba's 58,000 francophones. After massive public protests, Power scrapped the plan—but not before support for the government, according to a poll taken in April, 1984, dropped to a paltry 51 per cent. At the time, recalled Power in an interview with *Maclean's* last week, "We all thought it extremely unlikely that we would be able to recoup our losses." But a strategy designed to rebuild the NDP's image by avoiding controversy while concentrating on economic issues paid off.

During his second term as premier, Power is likely to retain his cautious, low-key approach—if only because his narrow majority will make bold action risky. However, during the election campaign he promised to take action on several fronts. High on the premier's agenda are plans to roll back gasoline prices by 8.5 cents if oil companies fail to pass on the decline in international prices and to extend pay-

equity for women—already the rule in the public sector—in private industry. But Power's most ambitious move is to grapple with a \$500-million provincial deficit, though he insists any reduction should come about because of heightened economic activity, not spending cuts in social programs. As well, Power will have to renege his cabinet to replace Municipal Affairs Minister Andy Annett, who, as government House leader, headed the NDP's unsuccessful bid to elect the French-language bill through the legislature. Annett was the only cabinet minister to lose his seat in the election.

For his part, Filmon may face a leadership challenge in the wake of his party's loss. Some right-wing Tories were critical of campaign promises to pump \$130 million into health, education and other social programs, while others accused him of running a lacklustre campaign that allowed the NDP to dem-

ote the headlines. "With more attacks on the government," noted federal Health Minister John Rys, who is regarded as a potential successor to Filmon, "I think we would have been able to win a few more seats." While he easily won his own Winnipeg riding of Tuxedo, Filmon admitted that he is considering whether to continue as party leader.

By contrast, Carstairs was "absolutely exhilarated." At the outset, few observers thought that she had much chance of winning River Heights. But Carstairs campaigned tirelessly, with the aid of such high-profile Liberals as Turner, party president Iwan Cumpano and Jean Chretien, who emerged briefly from his political retirement earlier this month to campaign for Carstairs in Winnipeg. She was also helped by her arduous performance in a televised "leaders' debate" on March 8. In the end, her strategists admitted the surge by Carstairs's Liberals probably robbed them of victory in at least two seats—and, if the Liberal vote had tipped the balance in favor of the Tories in two other seats, it could have cost them the election. Reflected Power: "We'll be analyzing that, but what is most important is that we won."

—DORIS SMITH in Winnipeg



Carstairs, minister

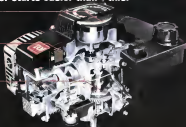
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Launching a comeback



Photo: AP/Wide World

when Grand Devise's Conservatives defeated Allan Rock's 13-year-old NDP government. Now, Rockman has decided to attempt a political comeback. Amid widespread speculation that Devise will call an election this spring, Rockman last week won the NDP nomination in his former riding of Beauport-Riverdale. Rockman admitted that a factor in his decision to disrupt a flourishing legal career and return to provincial politics was the possibility of eventually succeeding the 60-year-old Mulroney as star leader.

On the job again

As garbage piled up on sidewalks and yawning potholes proliferated on city streets, many Montrealers had begun to find the last gust of winter even more trying than snow. The reason: a strike by the city's 6,000 blue-collar workers which left residents without the usual level of city services. Finally, the month-old dispute ended last week by government decree. Earlier this month the province's essential services commission recommended that the union's right to strike be revoked, and last week Premier Robert Bourassa's government took up the suggestion and ordered the workers back to work. After an emotional meeting to decide whether to obey the decree, the members of Local 304 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, who went on strike to back demands for improved working conditions and a 36-hour work week, decided to return to work rather than face fines of up to \$10,000 a day. But the strike instilled its members in "unusually abusive" terms of their contract with the city and to refuse to work overtime—meaning that it could be some time before the city returns to normal.

A controversial junket

Six Conservative members of Parliament who were scheduled to return to Ottawa this week after a 14-day trip to South Korea were confined for a stern reception. Opposition politicians last week wanted to know whether the trip—sponsored by the Canada-Korea Parliamentary Friendship Association and paid for by the subsidiaries of one of President Chun Doo-hwan's companies—violated conflict of interest rules for MPs introduced in February. Only one of the MPs, Stanley Schellenberger of Alberta, registered the trip with the Clerk of the House of Commons, as the rules require. But Schellenberger did not indicate—in the rules also demand—who was paying for the visit by the Tory delegation, which included former Conservative party president Peter Stinson of Alberta, Robert Corbett of New Brunswick, and Robert

Pennock, Ronald Stewart and Terence Gifford of Ontario. Liberal MP Keith Penner said that while there was no effort to ban such junkets, "it was not wise for him to accept the largesse of a foreign government." Deputy Prime Minister Clark Nelson noted that it was not known the "nature or approval" of the government. For his part, Government House Leader Ray MacLachlan argued that MPs are not required to register such trips before they leave the country. But he agreed to meet with the two opposition parties to draft a clarification of the rules.

Resignation accepted

Last September, as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney struggled to contain a scandal over tainted tuna and a pair of ministerial resignations, an odd endorsement arose from remarks by Jerry Langert, the national director of Mulroney's Conservative party. Mulroney insisted that he had only turned in an RCMP investigation into Conservative Minister Marcel Massé's election expenses the day Massé resigned from the cabinet. (Massé returned to the cabinet in November after being cleared by the Mounties.) But Langert insisted that senior members of Mulroney's office had known about the investigation for several months. Langert subsequently retracted his statement, apologized for embarrassing Mulroney and offered to resign. At the time, Mulroney refused to accept the resignation. But last week, just one day after the Tories' national convention wound up in Montreal, Langert announced his resignation—and this time Mulroney accepted it, though he did not immediately name Langert's successor. For his part, Langert insisted that his decision to leave his post with the federal party and become principal secretary to R.C. Pearson William Bennett had nothing to do with the "misunderstanding" between Mulroney and him. Langert told *Maclean's*, "We leaving on good terms as far as the Prime Minister is concerned and as far as I am concerned."

Visit from a friend



Robert Weisberg

On the sixth day of Liberal Senator Jacques Hérbert's hunger strike last week to protest the cancellation of the Kalamazoo youth program, Jean-Marc Brouet, his personal physician, announced that the 60-year-old senator's strength "is falling a little more each day." But Hérbert showed no ill effects during a happy reunion with a old global travelling companion who accompanied him to the copper house, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. In the meantime, members of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government found the possibility that Hérbert, who has more than 14 lb. in the first two weeks of the fast, might eventually endanger his health. Secretary of State René Bouchard, who is considering a number of less-costly proposals to replace the \$20-million-a-year Kalamazoo program that Hérbert conceived in 1977, insisted that the government would not give in to the senator's demand that the program be reinstated. Bouchard added that if Hérbert "believes that he has to go [on] strike, it's his decision, not mine."

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Nicaragua

A first-round setback for Reagan's contras

The 18-hour debate had been one of the most unopposed in the House of Representatives' recent history. As speaker after speaker coached debate in apocalyptic rhetoric, the telephones in the members' adjacent cloakrooms were ringing with calls from President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush, who lobbied until the last moment in an attempt to sway undecided members with promises of roads, services and legislative trade-offs. Then, as the 602 representatives watched the electronic fireworks on the walls of the chamber, a cheer erupted from the Democratic side of the House. With the aid of 36 Republicans who had abandoned their leader, they had delivered a stunning blow to Reagan and voted down his bill for \$100 million in aid to the U.S.-backed rebel armies—known as the contras—fighting the Nicaraguan government. At the White House, spokesman Larry Speakes was unusually grim as he delivered a terse statement that officials had studied three times. In it, the President termed the vote "a dark day for freedom" and vowed to "come back again and again until this battle is won."

But both the gloves at the White House and the jubilation among congressional Democrats were short-lived as both sides prepared for the next round in what promises to be a pro-

tracted battle. When the proposal moves to the Republican-controlled Senate this week, it is sure to pass in some form before returning to the Democratic-dominated House for a vote on April 15. There, a range of compromise and packages for the contras was already being debated during last week's debate. And even the measure's fiercest opponents concede that the President will eventually win a vote on a weaker version of the bill that will include some measure of military aid.

Still, the vote marked the second time in less than a month that Reagan has stalled his personal popularity on an issue and failed to win congressional support. Indeed, his polarizing rhetoric and the White House's high-pressure tactics caused bitterness among some congressmen, only eight months from this year's crucial national elections. And attempts by White House communications director Patrick Buchanan to characterize a vote against aid as siding with the Communist-backed regime of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega provoked denunciations of "red-baiting" and "McCarthyite tactics" from members of both parties. And freshman Representative James Chabon, a Democrat from Texas, "We're not just offended when our patriotism is questioned. We're offended by it."

For many congressmen, the vote was particularly difficult. It forced them to

Congressmen before the vote, outraged over Reagan's high-pressure tactics



Cuba leader Ortega: Cuban military advisers in a regime under siege

choose between two equally unattractive alternatives—the regressive leftist regime in Managua with its Cuban military advisers, or the controversial contras, whose strategy has been widely documented and who have failed to win the support of either the Nicaraguan people or the country's democratically elected neighbors. In February, the foreign ministers of eight Latin American nations visited Washington to ask Secretary of State George Shultz to help support and arm the contras. Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo, whose opposition—along with that of other Central American leaders—played a key role in isolating Ortega, said that approving the contra aid would only have been "repeating the errors of history."

And for many congressmen, saving \$100 million—\$20 million of which was for direct military use—is an elusive vote already plagued by draconian budget cuts, appeared to be excessive. Timothy Wainwright (D-N.C.), who describes himself as a "100-per-cent hawk," said, "I don't like giving away money to a bunch of illiterate cutthroats in Nicaragua when we can't find money to pay for rural electrification or help the struggling textile industry in the United States."

Over the past weeks, as Reagan reportedly raised the prospect of communications on America's doorstep, many congressmen were haunted by an even more powerful apocalyptic—the Vietnam War. Indeed, in his response to Reagan's televised address, Tennessee Democrat Senator James Baker struck a potent chord when he warned, "As the father of a 17-year-old son, I say Mr. President, let's not rush blindly into

the quagmire. We've done this before." The fear of war was exacerbated by reports that only this week U.S. army units began constructing their sixth new airstrip in three years 30 km inside the Honduran border.

Such moves failed to convince Congress that the administration was sincere about its interest in a diplomatic solution to the problem—at a time when the climate for negotiations appeared to be right. Early this year, the U.S. and the contras agreed to a ceasefire and the negotiating and pre-negotiating proposals of the so-called Godalms Ministry Brian Mulroney in his meeting with Reagan last week—calling for a Latin American solution to the problem.

At the debate, moves to the Senate this week, White House spokesmen indicate that there are no plans to moderate Reagan's rhetoric. After Reagan's televised appeal for contra aid, congressmen reported receiving more calls against the President than for his proposal, and an aide to the President reported that after the speech, 94 per cent of Americans still opposed the aid bill. Indeed, many Republicans expressed concern that, following the President's unsuccessful attempt to increase defense spending earlier this month, he is again wasting his talent in communications skills on an unpopular issue that may weaken him further in the nearly three years left in his final term. Said Democratic Sen. Arlen Specter, who frequently supports the President on defense issues, "There's going to be more lame-duck talk after this."

—NANCY HEDGECOCK in Washington



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Contra rebels shout that U.S. aid could make the force a real threat

The contras—close up

It's Managua's sprawling Eastern Market, a colorful collection of tree-trunk sheds displaying a range of goods from sugar to underwear, a pretty middle-aged woman out behind rounds of onions. The day before, an inspector for Nicaragua's Sandinista government had fired her heavily for overcharging, and the woman was still shaking with indignation. "They won't let us make a living," she said loudly. Then, in a few whispers, the vendor added, "Maybe with the \$100 million from Washington we'll get rid of the Sandinistas. But will things get any better? Not likely. One gang is as bad as the next."

In Nicaragua there is no shortage of grumbling about the nearly seven-year-old Sandinista government. But last week, as the U.S. House of Representatives rejected President Ronald Reagan's plan to give \$100 million to rebel contras fighting the government, few Nicaraguans interviewed seemed disappointed—they don't like the guerrillas either. Ill-trained and poorly equipped, the insurgents have been losing ground to the Russian-armed and Cuban-aided Sandinista army of 60,000. After spending in about one-third of the country a year ago, most of the estimated 20,000 contras—the largest group is the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (Frente)—have been driven back to camps in neighboring Honduras. Many observers say they doubt that the infusion of U.S. funds would have turned the raging

rebels into a real threat. "The \$100 million could have strengthened the FFE's logistical ability and bolstered the Sandinistas," said Virginia Goday, leader of the Independent Liberal Party. "But it is difficult to imagine the FFE being capable of overthrowing the government." At the same time, the mere Reagan code the "moral equivalent of the Parasol Patchers" have convinced associates that independent observers say are far worse than the human rights abuses of the Sandinistas. Many contras (peasant farmers) say they simply want to be left in peace. "We have a situation that's like the Mafia," said Father Joe Garcia of Edmore, a parish priest in southern Nicaragua. "People don't want to be involved on either one side or the other out of fear they may be next."

The contras' anxiety reputation has prevented them from expelling discontent with the Sandinistas, who have suppressed many civil liberties and are widely blamed for food shortages and rising prices. And the government has been plagued by recent military gains. Said a Sandinista functionary who deals regularly with top government leaders: "They seem to be saying, 'We beat them before and we'll beat them again.' One can really sense an air of confidence."

—BOB LEVIN in Toronto with RICHIE MORTON and WILLIAM GARDINER in Managua

GYANA

A desperate rescue effort

When the 26-year-old dynasty of Guyana's leader Forbes Burnham collapsed after his death last August, the South American country had already become a kind of Chomskyville on the South American continent. Burnham's government was accused of being elections regularly and of widespread human rights abuses, while the nation suffered from a huge foreign debt and a soaring crime rate. The president's loyal replacement, former vice president Desmond Hoyte—elected in December in a vote that observers said was rigged—seemed unlikely to change the country's image. But the new 56-year-old ruler of the People's National Congress (PNC) in attempting a dramatic turn in direction he wants to develop the social and economy of 800,000 as an offshore investment center and tax haven.

Hoyte's position is a desperate one. The neighboring island of Trinidad, to which Guyana owes \$400 million (U.S.) for oil shipments, recently cut off supplies. That led to demonstrations last week after the government was forced to introduce strict rationing in the capital, Georgetown, to preserve supplies. Burnham's rule policy had to be called out to control the activity. As well, the International Monetary Fund, to which Guyana owes \$20 million (U.S.)—part of a crushing \$1.5 billion debt to foreign creditors—has declared the country ineligible for new loans. For the few commodities are prohibitively high—access to Montreal supermarket Loblaws' Hypermarket, a Guyanese-Canadian venture her husband's earlier this month, a five-pound tin of milk powder costs the equivalent of \$40 (Canadian).

The government's approach to solving these problems is contained in a new bill now before Parliament. Its objective is to create a "respectable offshore financial centre" much like the Bahamas and Panama. It would permit law would permit foreign-corrected offshore banks to deal in foreign currencies and securities, open accounts and manage funds for depositors living outside the country. Some Guyanese clearly approve of Hoyte's strategy. Others are less sure. The thousands of applicants for visas outside the Canadian High Commission and the U.S. visa office are longer than ever. And pro-Soviet opposition leader Cheddi Jagan said that talk of optimism is "killing in the dark," adding, "All I can see is continuous migration." □



Marcos-owned building in New York: cradle of documents and hidden wealth

PHILIPPINES

Marcos's paper trail

There are 1,500 documents in all, a President's box of paper that may hold the keys to the financial kingdom of Ferdinand Marcos. Seized by U.S. customs agents in Hawaii last month, the documents appear to contain evidence of bribery, kickbacks and outright bribery. Because of Marcos's hidden wealth range as high as \$15 billion, and last week investigators said that as much as \$100 million of that money may be buried in bank accounts and real estate across Canada.

Marcos had tried to prevent the papers from being released, but a U.S. Court of International Trade in New York denied his request last week. The documents, immediately turned over to investigators from Congress and the Philippine government, shared assets that included five New York-area real estate buildings worth about \$200 million (U.S.). The New York Times reported that one document listed balances totaling \$86.5 million in the banks in the United States, Switzerland and the Cayman Islands.

In Canada, investigators for the Philippine government said they believed that Marcos's millions were (re)invested most heavily in Vancouver. Specialists centered on the role of Jose Y. Campos, a close Marcos associate who apparently lives in both Vancouver and Manila. Campos runs United Laboratories Inc., the Philippines' largest pharmaceutical firm,

and Ray Sarcil of Edmonton, who is leading the Philippine investigation in Canada, said that Manila authorities have given him a list of Campos's Canadian assets to determine if they are tied to Marcos's investments.

Both Campos and his Vancouver lawyer, William J. Wright, were among the defendants in a \$150-million (U.S.) suit against Marcos and his associates launched by the Aquino government in Texas in Toronto, where investigators reportedly reported to find about \$50 million in Marcos assets. Philippine activist Cora Rivas said that most of the holdings would be in real estate. Added Rivas: "The mansion [Marcos's wife, Imelda] liked to look at buildings, jewels—the hand staff."

Last week the Philippine government also reversed the passport of Oscar Carino, its consul in Toronto. Carino is the former vice-president of the state-owned Philippine National Bank in New York, and Philippine authorities said they would ask him to supply information on Marcos's financial dealings. Meanwhile, Marcos himself was apparently anxious to avoid having to face U.S. courts or subcommittee last week U.S. officials said that the exiled leader wanted to leave for Panama, although at week's end the Central American republic had reported at least one U.S. appeal to give Marcos safe haven.

—BOB LEVIN with correspondents' reports



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A resolute return to the right

When France's newly elected parliament opens next week, it will be the first time in the 35-year history of the Fifth Republic that the country's two most powerful government leaders belong to rival parties. Following the March 16 National Assembly elections—which gave a narrow two-seat majority to a conservative coalition of the neo-Gaullist Rally for the Republic (RPR), the centre-right Union for French Democracy (UDF) and 14 independent deputies—Socialist President François Mitterrand last week asked top leader Jacques Chirac to form a new government.

The election result was a stunning personal blow to Mitterrand. Moreover, with Chirac—a resolute conservative who has been known to exchange words with Mitterrand in the past—as the new prime minister, the right is now poised to begin dismantling five years of Socialist policy by deactivating banks, insurance companies and industries, lifting price and exchange controls and reducing public spending and corporate taxes.

Chirac, 55, the mayor of Paris since 1977 and a former prime minister under



Chirac dismantling Socialist policy

Valley Giscard d'Estaing from 1974 to 1976, announced his cabinet last week after two days of consultations with coalition partners. All but two of Chirac's nominees—for the important foreign and defence posts—were accepted by Mitterrand without controversy. Still, the conservative's slim majority in the expanded 577-seat legislature raises the prospect of political instability or stalemate until Mitterrand's term as president expires in 1988. Some French political analysts suspect an inevitable constitutional crisis as a result of what is known in France as "cohabitation" between a right-wing prime minister and a socialist president. The leading Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, for one, asked, "Which one will devour the other?" Others predicted an early campaign start for the next and decisive battle—the race for the presidency.

Chirac's fragile government will have a maximum term of two years and will be subject to conflicting threats and pressures. Among them are the rising presidential ambitions of its leading figures—Chirac, UDF leader and former president Giscard d'Estaing and onetime prime

minister Raymond Barre, who are staking out positions as the right is about to win Mitterrand in 1988. At the same time, many Socialists say that the competition may lead to splits in the trenches as the left alliance.

Although they remain the largest single force in the National Assembly with 215 seats, the Socialists were the most obvious losers in last week's election. But the Communists—with only 36 seats—suffered the biggest setback. In previous elections in 1983, the Communists won 44 seats in the smaller 481-seat legislature. And there was jubilation on the extreme right.

Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front (NF) matched the Communists with a surprising 36 seats. Its first victories in National Assembly elections in the party's 45-year history. Le Pen's nationalist and immigration policies appealed to almost 18 per cent of the voting public. But despite the NF's offer to broaden the left-right majority in parliament, the traditional right has consistently rejected co-operation with Le Pen. Still, the 17-year-old former Foreign Minister parliamentarian celebrated his party's strong showing with a success rally in a Paris suburb. Said Le Pen: "Despite the media

monopoly, the definition, the occupation of speeches and manipulation of the opinion polls, we have achieved a great victory."

How long the new government will



Mitterrand looking to the next presidential election

last depends largely on Mitterrand. The two pillars of the Fifth Republic—a strong president and a sympathetic parliamentary majority—crumbled with last week's election returns. Under the constitution established by Charles de

Gaulle in 1958, the president can dissolve parliament and call new elections. But most analysts say that with both Mitterrand and Chirac setting their sights on the next presidential election, that is unlikely to happen. Instead, Chirac will likely try to develop a delicate balance between co-operating with Mitterrand and following his conservative agenda. Mitterrand will also have to follow a difficult course. He must preserve the traditional powers of the presidency while avoiding the appearance of obstructing the policies of the elected government.

Mitterrand has vowed to serve his full seven-year term. He says that the economy for stability and continuity outweigh issues of partisan politics. "I understand the change implied for our democracy of the arrival in power of a political majority whose policies are different from those of the president," said Mitterrand last week. "The only answer to this question lies in the scrupulous respect for our institutions and the common will to place the national interest before all else."

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Calgary's bitter spring

The facade of optimism has faded. Through the deep winter months of January and February, oil prices on Alberta oil futures contracts slumped down to \$17.00 a barrel, many of Calgary's political and business

leaders publicly maintained a cautious optimism, waiting for the price of oil to stabilize. Then, by late last week, with oil futures trading at about \$18—down 50 per cent from late December—it was clear that international events had ended the city's short-lived economic recovery. Now, among Calgary's 625,000 citizens—60 per cent of whom earn income from the energy industry—the oil price collapse has led to a deep sense of unease. Said Mervyn Black, a 28-year-old attendant in a downtown parking lot: "I talk to people every day, and they are frightened about their jobs."

Throughout last week, evidence of a worsening economic slowdown accumulated. Speaking to reporters in Ottawa, Bank of Canada Gov. Gerald Bony said that, although the drop in world prices was good for Canada as a whole, the slump would be a "severe border" for the country's oil-producing areas—particularly Alberta. In Calgary the steady stream of layoffs continued—an estimated 1,000 people have lost their jobs since early February—as companies slashed their budgets for oil exploration and postponed development projects. And Alberta Premier Donald Getty spent direct communications with Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed bin Faisal.

Oil industry leaders also held talks in Ottawa last week with federal Energy Minister Pat Carney, urging her to move forward the schedule for ending federal taxes on oil production that was announced under last year's Winter Energy Accord. That move would put some

cash into the industry's hands. Declared Ian Sepp, head of the national resources committee of the Calgary Chamber of Commerce: "We have acknowledged that the price collapse has had a major impact on the city."

Getty blamed consternation in Ottawa

stands that the government of Canada speaks for Canada on international questions."

Meanwhile, in Geneva, once struggled to stop the three-month price slide. After several years of lowering its own output in an unsuccessful attempt

to apply for the last of the grants available under federal and provincial petroleum incentive programs, which will expire at the end of March, the city's leaders are now very aware that the city's leaders acknowledge that Calgary is still a one-industry town. Said the Chamber of Commerce's Sepp: "If there was no oil and gas industry, there would be no Calgary."

Most Calgarians say that they are convinced that the city's downturn will become even more severe. There is currently a second annual oil exploration activity under way because oil companies rushed to apply for the last of the grants available under federal and provincial petroleum incentive programs, which will expire at the end of March.

As the city's leaders acknowledge that Calgary is still a one-industry town, they are convinced that the city's downturn will become even more severe. There is currently a second annual oil exploration activity under way because oil companies rushed to apply for the last of the grants available under federal and provincial petroleum incentive programs, which will expire at the end of March.

estimated real estate market. Then, last year, despite a slight decline in oil prices, the first signs of a late recovery permeated the city. There was an upsurge in drilling activity in the oilfields, and construction activity was once again visible on the skyline.

Some of the ambitious projects are still proceeding. Trizec Corp. Ltd. is moving ahead with the first phase of a \$300-million office tower project in the city's core. And the organizing committee for the 1988 Olympic Winter Games, to be held in Calgary in 1988, will spend \$400 million over the next two years—much of it to upgrade the city's existing sports facilities and build new ones. But the city's leaders acknowledge that Calgary is still a one-industry town. Said the Chamber of Commerce's Sepp: "If there was no oil and gas industry, there would be no Calgary."

Most Calgarians say that they are convinced that the city's downturn will become even more severe. There is currently a second annual oil exploration activity under way because oil companies rushed to apply for the last of the grants available under federal and provincial petroleum incentive programs, which will expire at the end of March.

Many companies have already announced major layoffs of employees working in Calgary head offices and elsewhere in the province. One of the companies most affected is Husky Oil Ltd., which is laying off 300 of its 1,800 employees. David Swain, the provincial state's energy critic and a geophysicist with Gulf Canada Corp.: "The rest of the layoffs will not be spectacular—just 20 or 30 people at a time lining up for jobs when tender fees go under."

The current economic slowdown, however, is not expected to hurt Calgary as badly as the recession of 1982. At that time, when oil prices were falling, the city was still operating on tight budgets—a fact

that lessens the threat of another outbreak of bankruptcies. Said Thomas Cummings, a senior vice-president with the Bank of Nova Scotia in Calgary: "Most companies are now in a lean position and able to survive a tough period without

lag prices also reopened the perennial debate over regional disparities. Some said that the federal government should introduce a minimum price for oil, using a provision in the Western Accord that allows it to regulate oil prices. He added: "Why should Alberta take it on the chin when times are hard? The rest of Canada was helped when times were good and prices were rising?"

Another Calgarian, Edward Werwick, president of Werwick & Co., a Calgary oil estate consulting firm, noted the weakness of the real estate market partly on nervousness by large institutional buyers from Eastern Canada. Although Calgary has \$850 million in scheduled construction, because of the oil price drop "the decision to buy are just not being made," said Werwick. "Calgarians feel that the situation can be controlled, but the customers are calling things off."

The price collapse also refocused concern about the province's dependence on the energy industry. The city's down and then the loss of the \$1-billion Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund, the province is "no

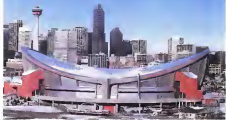
better prepared than we were after the first oil price shock in 1973." Added Sepp: "It is really a case of lost confidence."

Calgary Mayor Ralph Klein said that "the city is doing all it can to diversify the economy" in order to avoid the ups and downs of the cyclical energy industry.

Karin Macmillan, an economist with the Canada West Foundation, a Calgary-based research organization, said that Alberta's lack of diversification cannot be entirely blamed on the province. A small population and large distances from major markets are also major drawbacks, she said. Another problem, Macmillan pointed out, is that "oil workers are paid very well. You can't just get up a two-bit mill and pay barely the minimum wage when someone without Grade 12 can cross the street to an oil company and earn \$48,000 on an oil rig."

But for the province's small population, the province is "no better prepared than we were after the first oil price shock in 1973."

—MICHAEL SALTZER with CHRISTOPHER DONOVAN in Calgary



Calgary skyline: collapsing oil prices and the threat of layoffs in a one-industry town



Calgary Mayor talking to a woman at a conference

But industry experts expect a rash of takeovers as richer companies seek control of the oil and gas holdings



Pumping oil: a good time for the future syndrome

of smaller companies—acquire made cheaper by the price decline. Said Peter Morgan, manager of corporate affairs for Calgary-based Ascan Inc.: "This is a good time to take advantage of the value syndrome."

But for the province's small population, the province is "no better prepared than we were after the first oil price shock in 1973."

Added Sepp: "It is really a case of lost confidence."

Calgary Mayor Ralph Klein said that "the city is doing all it can to diversify the economy" in order to avoid the ups and downs of the cyclical energy industry.

—MICHAEL SALTZER with CHRISTOPHER DONOVAN in Calgary

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GM's new era in Canada

In 1982 North America was finally in the grip of the worst automobile industry downturn since the Great Depression. The big three U.S. automakers—General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp., all based in Detroit—reported combined net losses of \$3.3 billion (U.S.) for the years 1980 and 1981. They responded to the hard economic times with massive layoffs and plant closures. And that led to success in Canada that Detroit's auto executives would give priority to reviving their U.S. factories,

car in Oshawa, Ont., using an entirely different construction process. The firm will abandon the traditional continuous assembly line and instead build the cars in sections at successive work stations, each with teams of up to 15 workers. The vehicles will move from station to station on automated guided platforms that follow wire paths embedded in the shop floor.

The system is expected to increase Oshawa's annual car production, which by 1990 will be limited to the new model, by 30 per cent and its truck output by 35 per cent. Although the highly automated, low-inventory production system yields greater profits for automakers, the huge capital investments no longer guarantee more jobs. Instead, the changeover will only secure existing ones. Said Nicholas Hall, GM Canada manager of media relations: "This massive capital investment is going to ensure our place in the scheme of things."

Early this week Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Ontario Premier David Peterson were to be on hand to hear GM Canada president George Peoples detail the project. Even officials of the 146,000-member United Auto Workers Union in Canada (UAW) were pleased with the prospect. The Oshawa plant, employing 20,000 of the 65,000 Canadian workers, is the third location chosen as part of GM's multi-million-dollar commitment to new assembly technology; the other sites are in Fairfax, Va., and Dearborn, Mich.

For GM, the costly changes to its manufacturing facilities are a response to the notion that high-quality foreign cars have exposed during the past decade in North America. During the 1970s, Detroit automakers largely ignored the Japanese invasion of the auto market. But since 1980, U.S. companies—and their closely managed Canadian subsidiaries—have been fighting to protect their market share by adopting Japanese size, styling and manufacturing methods for their products. The efforts have been successful—

the big three automakers announced a combined net income of \$88 billion (U.S.) in the past three years.

The new car project in Canada, to be called the Autoplex, is the most expensive car program in the company's history. The outlay will build a new model of a mid-sized front-wheel-drive

decision to invest in Oshawa was reassuring—partly because the company has made no plans to expand its troubled plant in St.-Théophile, Que. The union will not enter the firm in a co-operative—accepting the reality of mixed job creation in exchange for the benefits of a state-of-the-art production line. Said first president Robert Wilson: "This is a reasonably secure scenario for workers in Oshawa and better."

—THERESA TREAGHER in Toronto



GM worker stability

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The empire strikes again

The takeover attempt was swift, sudden and huge. And it threatened to bring an independent company under the control of a larger, highly business empire. Only 19 months after their massive \$28-billion takeover of Gulf Canada Ltd., Toronto's powerful Paul and Albert Reichman stunned Bay Street late last week with a \$1.2-billion offer for 49 per cent of Hiram Walker Resources Ltd. of Toronto (HW), a liquor and resource conglomerate with assets of \$5.7 billion. The takeover offer was launched through Gulf Canada Corp., 80 per cent of which is owned by the Reichmans. Thus, HW's management resisted the help of financial advisers well versed in the art of finding all securities acquirers—and speculation grew that a bitter takeover battle was about to begin.

The Reichmans' bold action immediately triggered the issue of corporate concentration. When they took over Gulf last June, the Reichmans acquired Canada's fourth largest oil company. The HW empire offers similar scope. With sales in 1985 of \$3.8 billion, the conglomerate operates the world's second-largest distilling group,

which makes such popular brands as Canadian Club, Tin Maria and Gooseberry. It also owns Calgary's Home Oil Co. Ltd., a well-managed oil firm, and Coopers & Lybrand's Gas Co. Ltd. of Toronto—Canada's largest natural gas utility. Because the proposed acquisition involves control of a provincial utility, it will need approval by the Ontario cabinet. As well, the combined branch of the federal revenue and corporate affairs department would have to examine the purchase.

For the Reichmans—who already hold 33.7 per cent of the voting stock—and their chief lieutenant, Michael (Mike) Cohen, who is president of Olympia & York Enterprises Ltd., it was another display of dazzling timing. The offer of \$12 a share for HW's common stock was made at a time when the shares reached their lowest monthly closing



Cohen, of and booze

to be seen if the Reichmans want to be in the home business—if oil and booze can mix.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Toronto

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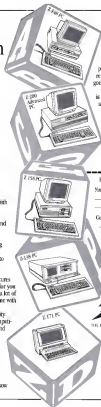
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Second thoughts about the budget

By Peter C. Newman

Now that Canadian businessmen have re-examined the second Wilson budget, their mood has turned sour and cynical. The problem, according to Ian Sinclair, who headed the huge Canadian Pacific Ltd. empire before being named a Liberal senator in 1988, is that the Tsey document is based on highly unrealistic assumptions.

"The capital expenditures assumptions on behalf of industry, the reported rise in consumer expenditures in the face of higher taxes and personal tax cuts, the 1928 (U.S.) price for oil on which revenue projections are based, and the 10-per-cent level of prevailing interest rates for the next 12 months—these are all such long shots that most of us who have thought about this budget carefully now believe it was just a statistical exercise," he told us.

By "statistical exercise" Sinclair is referring to the fact that the Mulroney government needed those assumptions to make the bottom line come out with a deficit of under \$20 billion—a figure that would hopefully reassure the international currency traders who had driven the Canadian dollar below 70 cents U.S. "When financial people, including the money traders, say that they are disappointed and uneasy with the budget," Sinclair maintains, "it's because the document's basic assumptions don't hold up."

Sinclair and many other thoughtful businessmen are convinced that in implementing a more realistically based law, Wilson will have to take another mini-budget this fall. The finance department's head hails that a business transfer tax is under consideration and will be introduced soon as part of that strategy.

The former railway boss, who during his 23 years in active management raised Canadian Pacific's asset base from \$2 billion to \$17 billion and more than doubled its profits, feels uneasy about how fast corporate capital expenditures—the only real job-creation device—might reverse across the country. "The Oil Patch is not going to be there, the mining and forest products companies are not going to be there and some downturn in nonmetallics production is inevitable. You have to take all your hat to Wilson, in the sense that he did address the deficit, but you have to wonder how much of his speech was really a Michael Wilson

budget. It has all the aspects of a statistical approach. Maybe the fact that he is protesting so much and defending it so hard means he is not very comfortable with it himself."

Sinclair, who is now unemployed but remains a director of Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, Union Carbide Canada Ltd., Canadian National Co. and several investment funds as well as being a public director of the Investment Dealers Association of Canada,



Ian Sinclair: Basic assumptions

is, retains his influence as one of the business community's most respected elder statesmen.

His view of the forthcoming free trade talks, which were virtually confirmed last week in Washington, is typical of his style and class. "We have this very large relationship with the United States and we can't just keep saying that we'll try to expand our trade through multilateral situations. So the idea of a bilateral deal has some strong attractions. But at least

three areas of activity will have to be protected in any pact we might sign. The media and publishing of all kinds—if this isn't done, American and European publishers will just override us. Financial institutions will also need special consideration so that we don't become dominated by the United States and British banks. And third, the food and fuel industry is another sector that will need protection."

Sinclair is not shy about being openly partisan. He was one of the very few businessmen considered by Pierre Trudeau and has organized a fund-raising dinner for John Turner, whom he originally appointed to the CP board. His harsh criticism of the Mulroney government's record is reserved for the mismanaged balance of the Canadian Commercial and Northern banks last fall. "It was a massive mistake," he says, "a speech more based in political whim, without the necessary foresight that comes from being in control. When the whole thing is put together, the cost to the Treasury will be more than \$1 billion."

A longtime vice-president of the Royal Bank of Canada, Sinclair is familiar with some of the safeguards in the system which he claims were never used. He cites as an example the fact that special provisions of the Bank Act gave the Minister of Finance the right to hire special auditors for a firsthand report on a deteriorating bank. This course was never pursued.

"There were some big mistakes made," Sinclair. "Have you the government whose ministers had been grinding their teeth and screaming for a long time that the National Energy Program had a tremendously adverse effect on the Western economy, where these two banks had most of their loans. They were supposed to be highly attuned to the situation and yet they allowed the thing to drift from March till September, and the cost of that drift has been substantial."

Ian Sinclair is happy that the Federal Liberals and Ontario Conservatives were defeated, because he feels their time in opposition is bound to reinvigorate both parties. "Whether Brian Mulroney leads more than a one-term government," he says, "will depend on what substantive action he takes during the next 12 months. So far, the Canadian business and international business communities are not impressed."

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Last week's announcement of Prince Andrew's engagement to Sarah Ferguson was a pleasant surprise for Sarah Jones, 25, Andrew's former girlfriend from Kingston, Ont. Jones, who dated the prince when he was attending Lakeland College School near Peterborough, Ont., in 1977, says that she and Andrew are still good friends. "We visit each other and exchange Christmas and birthday cards," she added, "and when she saw him in England last summer, the prince seemed ready to settle down." He pulled out pictures he had taken of past girlfriends and said, "This one's married, that one's married, this one has two children and this one's engaged—and here I am all alone!" He mentioned Ferguson, Jones says, as "a



Sarah and Andrew: 'one's married, one's engaged—and I am all alone!'

bestest it was "the right thing to do." He added that he and his wife, Anne, were looking forward to having children. But later he told *Madison*, "They ask me the same stupid questions in England. They are obsessed with my sex life, my hair transplant and football!"

Stand-up comic Jerry Jones, 39, says that his fiancée has not stopped singing since she won a \$100,000 (U.S.) grand prize in the amateur talent contest TV series *Star Search* in February. The former singer from London, Ont., says that Woodworth Humphreys and Jimmy Davis Jr. have asked her to open their nightclub acts, and "ABC TV has offered a contract and Playboy magazine wants me to write a feature." Jones says that his popstar fiancée has no time for romance. "What's a boyfriend?" She added that she was married once but "we had conflicting careers. I worked and he didn't." And there was "this guy who wanted to marry me and take me to another planet. Later he phoned me from jail for bad money." Dedrick Jones "Comedy is not pretty."



Jones: 'Comedy is not pretty'

tried to be a singer" and did not agree to have any regrets about abandoning his former love, soft-core pornography starlet Mac Shark. Said Jones: "I teased him a lot about her. He wasn't crying about it." She added, "I think he's better off with the young lady he has now."

British rock star Mike Johns, 35, completing a tour of France last week, said that he was relieved at its success. "During my first tour here the audience threw things," he said. Appearing on the TV interview show *À Vous de la Vidéo* in Paris, Johns acknowledged that he was a homosexual and said that he married two years ago

The error and star of the CBC TV children's show *The Friendly Giant*, Bob Horne, 77, says that "people don't like each other." As an example, he cites viewers who called when his series was cancelled 15 months ago "to say they were sorry they wouldn't be seeing me anymore—without realizing I would live on in reruns." As well, some of the best sex/Gladiators episode was taped on Dec. 18, 1984,



Horne: a friendly slip

Horne has done four half-hour specials for the CBC, the final one scheduled for March 30. Horne says he and puppet pals Jerome the giraffe and Sooty the moose would do another show if asked. In fact, "Jerome and I slipped a little message into the Easter special, referring to it as the first of our spring specials." Added Horne: "Nobody seemed to catch it."

There were more rumors that rock stars Tina Turner, 45, and Nazareth's Bryan Adams, 35, were having an affair. According to New York syndicated columnist Gary Knickerbocker, the singers were in Hawaii earlier this month "hand in hand, shopping, eating, snuggling, kissing and growing closer by the minute." Spokesmen for Turner's and Adams' record companies denied the rumor. But Knickerbocker (real name Allen Smith) said last week, "I've checked this story 15 times and I'm certain it's true. My source is very reliable. If it wasn't Turner and Adams snuggling, then they have a pair of clones. They were seen, put on, they were seen."

During his annual visit to Washington last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Mita, attended a luncheon given by Secretary of State George Shultz. The dessert, a chocolate truffle filled with raspberries and topped with cream, resembled protocol chef Selma Rosevelt's of the time the king and queen of Nepal came to lunch. "We had planned to serve the same dessert in a chocolate crown—but a Nepalese official told me that they long could not be seen plunging a knife into an object symbolic of his office," Rosevelt told the Mulroney lunch. Rosevelt joked to a reporter that she was disappointed a maple leaf for the dessert, but that she did not want to risk another diplomatic blunder. Later, Rosevelt told *Madison* she was certain a maple leaf would not have presented difficulties—but just to be on the safe side, "we went to a backup."

—Edited by MARK MEYER

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Barbara Johnson (left), Zagat, scandals, ex-consorts and a \$300-million estate

JUSTICE

An expensive family feud

For the past three weeks, Room 603 in New York City's Supreme Court has been the setting for a sensational family feud that easily surpasses the steamy offerings of such television soap operas as *Dallas* or *Dynasty*. There, within the marble walls of the Manhattan courthouse, an estate of as much as \$300 million (U.S.) is at stake. That fortune belonged to J. Edward Johnson, the heir to the pharmaceutical empire of Johnson & Johnson, the manufacturer of such familiar household remedies as *Kaleo-Ban* and *Tylenol* pain relievers. But Johnson died in 1980 at the age of 67, and left almost all his money to his third wife, Nell, six of the drug magnate's children by his first two marriages are trying to prevent their stepmother from becoming one of the richest women in the world. And J. 48-year-old Barbara Johnson with control of the inheritance. It would complete a remarkable transformation for a Polish immigrant art student who showed a job in the Johnson household as a cook and chambermaid in 1928, and married her employer three years later, one week after his second divorce.

The couple's marriage was a May-December union which began when she was 34 and he was 76, lasting until J. Edward died of prostate cancer. De-

spite the 32-year marriage, his children object to the fact of 22 wills that their father drew up during the decade. Five of the children received nothing while his eldest son received a \$1-million bequest. As a result, the children are striving to prove that their stepmother is seeking more than a gold digger.

The Johnsons, who range in age from 41 to 58, have been on the attack since the trial began. In their suits the children argue that their stepmother "bribe, harassed and terrorized our father." And accused of being an attentive young wife, they charge that Barbara slapped their father and on another occasion threatened to hit him with his cane. They also say that their stepmother replaced family servants with fellow Poles, almost isolating their father in his palatial Florida estate. According to the Johnson children, Barbara conspired with her late husband, lawyer Neil Zagat, to renege the wills. That action alone could generate as much as \$5 million in fees and

commissions for Zagat, a Wall Street lawyer whose firm is an executor of the estate.

For their part, Barbara Johnson's lawyers have constructed several family scandals. The purpose behind that legal maneuver is to show that the children's actions encouraged J. Edward to cut them out of his will. In that vein, they note that Johnson's eldest son was involved in a messy divorce in 1963—proceedings which were enhanced by accounts of the gambler's sexual liaisons on one of the private detective's visit to spy on her extramarital affairs. At the time, J. Edward Jr. testified that his wife had reduced him to the status of a "sex slave," forcing him to serve breakfast in bed to her live-in lovers. And the eldest child, 36-year-old Mary Lou Johnson, is also familiar with emotional divorce trial revelations. In 1977 she accused her second husband, psychiatrist Victor D'Arcy, of conducting "an open, notorious, continuous course of detestant sexual intercourse" with the family chauffeur D'Arcy denied those accusations—and his wife's charge that he had hired the man to kill her.

According to Barbara Johnson's lawyers, such actions ended the father's faith in his children. And they note that trust funds which he set up for the children in 1944 would now hold more than \$130 million each—if the free-spending offspring had restrained themselves in living off the interest. And even J. Edward Johnson Jr., the least wealthy of the six plaintiffs, has an estimated net worth of \$25 million.

Still, the children portray their father as a weak, senile man who wrote his last will—30 days before his death—under the sway of his grating wife. But several key witnesses including attorney Zagat and Johnson's personal physician dispute that unflattering description. They witness that the man died on April 14, 1980, signing of the will and they insist that Johnson, although confined to a wheelchair, was still mentally alert. And some observers among the lawyers and journalists pushing the courtroom each day say that the plaintiffs' real goal is a settlement with which to liquidate several years of legal wrangling. But given their stepmother's similar accusations, the saga of a rich family's washing of dirty linen in public will continue to attract a wide audience.

—LENN GLENN in New York



Johnson Sr., 22 years old

PRESS

Turmoil at Private Eye

With customary immediacy, the editorial in the March 7 issue of the satirical British magazine *Private Eye* began, "This week marks a revolution in publishing history with the first issue of my organ to be printed in full colour." But fictional proprietor Lord Gosnell continued, "Readers may notice there have, inevitably, been some few things troubles in the introduction of the new technological advances." In fact, the issue was printed entirely in black and white. It was a characteristic snipe—in that case at the participants in the Fleet Street war between newspaper owners and labor unions. However, the *Eye* staff is now engaged in a raging internal battle.

On March 14 editor Richard Ingrams, 48, announced his resignation after 33 years, and appointed his 39-year-old protégé, Ian Hislop. But the aggressive and egotistical Hislop is unpopular with fellow staff members, and last week, while he was dining in Switzerland, most of them were lobbying *Eye* shareholders to depose him.

Former *Eye*, which began in 1961, was the product of a new spirit of cynicism and irreverence. It had taken root among young collectors who, a generation before, would have dined comfortably into the Establishment menu. Instead, groups of them started the *Eye* and ridiculed its longevity—under the pretense of journalism—upon the staff's upper class. Surviving hand-rolled libel actions over the years, the *Eye* has played a major role in the dismissal—and occasionally the ruin—of senior civil servants and even cabinet ministers.

As well, Lord Gosnell's "organ" created mythological splendors, including reporter Laurence O'Boone, Sir Rod Rastley-Stands (Chief Rastmeyer of the Reductive Brothers) and the *Eye*'s first lord, Sir Oswald B. Broom. At the magazine popularized such euphemisms as "trend and emotional" (obscenely drunk) and "Upstairs downstairs" (sexual intercourse). Its circulation is 238,000, compared to the 145-year-old *Batleship*-style humor magazine *Punch*'s 65,000.

Before Hislop went on holidays, he said he was nervous about his appointment, but that if his colleagues disapproved, "there's nothing that they can do about it." Many targets of the *Eye* staff's venom have learned otherwise. Hislop is five feet, four inches. ☐



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Brian Orser's triple disappointment

It lasted only a moment, but the man we will laud Brian Orser for the next year, if not the rest of his life. With the men's World Figure Skating Championship within his grasp at the Palladium des Sports in Geneva last Thursday night, the 24-year-old Orser tumbled to the ice. The trouble came just seconds into his 4½-minute free skating long program, as the six-time Canadian champion from Oshawa, Ont., attempted a jump that has been his trademark since 1989—the triple axel. One of the most difficult jumps in figure skating, the skater must complete 3½ revolutions between takeoff and landing. Said Orser: "Everything was perfect going into it. I did it well as I have done it in the past. But suddenly I was flat on my back."

The fall ended Orser's chances for the first Canadian men's figure skating gold medal since 1943, when Donald McPherson of Windsor, Ont., won the 1963 world championship. A year earlier, Donald Jackson of Oshawa, Ont., won Canada's only other men's world title by completing the first triple lutz ever attempted in competition. The jump is considered to be as difficult to execute as a triple axel. Like Jackson, Orser landed well behind after the compulsory figure, in which skaters must skate three set patterns in the ice three times.

In fact, Orser was in eighth place after the first figure but pulled himself up to fifth after the third. The figure count for fully 38 per cent of the competitors, and Orser appeared to be too far behind first-place Alexander Fadeev, the defending world champion from the Soviet Union. When Orser placed first in the short free-skating program—the two-minute portion—in which 38 per cent—was still third behind Fadeev and Czech Josef Sabock, 22, the 1986 European champion. To win the gold, Orser had to place first in the long program, more 50 per cent, while Fadeev had to finish no higher than third.

Fadeev was the first of the quarter-

ers for the gold to skate. But the downed 32-year-old skater from Tashkent crumpled under the pressure of defending his title. Fadev stated this morning, falling twice and awkwardly landing three other jumps. Next came Brian Boitano, also 32, of the United



Orser: a moment in Geneva that will haunt him for the rest of his life

States, a technically excellent if unspectacular skater. As Boitano resumed his skatepads and prepared to take the ice, the man for Fadev were posted. Soviet judge Tatiana Davidenko gave her countryman a 5.9 score for technical merit out of a possible six, despite his flagrant mistakes. The crowd whistled, booed and roared in the distant participation by cheering encouragement on Boitano. The American proceeded to skate the program of his life, landing five triple jumps. Boitano suddenly stood in first place. Orser skated next.

The Canadian skater needed only to outpace Boitano, something he had accomplished at every world championship since 1983. But after a solid start, his mastery of the triple axel inexplicably deserted him. From 1979 to 1985, Orser was the only skater in the world completing the jump in competition. Like Jackson, Orser relies on his famous jump to anchor what is, even without the triple axel, an innovative and intricately choreographed program. Said Orser: "When I missed the triple axel, I didn't get too concerned, because I had a chance to do a

second one later in the program." But after failing in the first attempt, Orser bailed out too early as the second, landing on two skates rather than one, and the championship was decided.

It was Orser's third consecutive world championship silver medal. Still, Orser, who also finished second at the 1984 Winter Olympics, refuses to share critics' opinion that he is destined never to win a gold medal. Said Orser: "Oh, I'll win it. It's there. I'm not quitting until I do." What was particularly galling for Orser last week was that he had a chance to win the gold on the final night. At the previous world championships, he was virtually eliminated from winning the title by poor figure results on the first day of competition, an unhappy tradition among Canadian men skaters. Said Orser: "I've been working my butt off for years, and particularly the past few months, focusing on this. Everything was sitting right there, and it seems like just as a skater that it went out the window like it did. I just didn't do it."

Orser's career came to a halt over the Canadian contingent, which had been shared earlier in the week by the bronze-medal performance of Cyrilus Dufk, 30, of Grosseville, Park, Que., and Mark Bowman, 26, of Concord, Ont., in the pairs competition. The winners were Ekatarina Gerdarova, 14, and Sergei Gerasimov, 18, of the Soviet Union. Canadian hopefuls finished well back in the ladies' championship, won by Tara Dakin, 18, of the United States. And at world's end, Tracy Wilson, 18, of Port Moody, B.C., and Rob McCall, 22, of Dartmouth, N.S., still had medal hopes in the dance competition. But late last Thursday night in the darkness and rain, Orser could only wave an arm toward the spot on the ice where he fell and sigh, "I'd like to go out right now and do it again." No doubt, alone in the dark, Orser could flawlessly land his famous triple axel again and again.

—STEVE MILLER in Geneva

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Here, Grant's academy graduate in a world of football players and cheerleaders

FILMS

An egghead comes of age

LUCAS

Directed by David Selzer

Lucas Boy is an outsider, a bratty and lonely 14-year-old whose interests include science and classical music. The film *Lucas* chronicles how the boy (played by Toronto actor Cory Mac) turns into the school's hero—with a refreshing twist. An outstanding intellectual who is small for his age—certainly smaller than the other students at his sports-oriented high school—Lucas peeks at the world through his book, oversized glasses. His rationalism has alienated by saying that all the school's athletes and cheerleaders are "superficial." Still, he wants to belong. As the film tells the poignant, bittersweet tale of his struggle to fit in, *Lucas* proves to be a finer gem.

Written and directed by David Selzer, the film is unashamedly sensitive. And Selzer's firmness as a writer is totally unrespected, considering that his past scripts included such raucous works as *Bar Wreckers* and *The Other Side of the Mountain*. With *Lucas*, he seems tapered and—surprisingly for a first-time director—in complete control of his material.

Selzer's most obvious and endearing talent is his understanding of the psychology of teenagers. There are holes in the school football team, but they are not cut as complete villains the

teenagers that cause them to behave that way are recognizable. Lucas has a nasty streak too; he has cultivated his contempt for the athletes, and he taunts them regularly. When he meets a girl, Maggie (Kerry Grant), who has just moved to the neighborhood, she at first responds to his sensibilities. But when she decides to cheat more friends by becoming a cheerleader, Lucas feels spurned—and more alone than ever. And when Maggie begins to date the star football player, Cuggie (Charlie Sheen), Lucas feels betrayed. To prove himself to everyone who has ever laughed at him or pitied him, the wrong, irrefutable hero tries out for the football team.

The film has a fixed, unbroken pace. Its dialogue ably captures teenage embarrassment and the anger and hurt beneath apparently rational actions. Selzer draws wonderfully spontaneous performances from his fresh, young cast. But the centerpiece is Mac, who remains awfully in character throughout, portraying the hero's quiet powers of observation and the impulse for self-assertion common to all teenagers. *Lucas* reveals how even the gifted ache for acceptance. While many recent Hollywood teen films have earned only passing grades, *Lucas* scores the highest marks.

—LAWRENCE OTTOLE

Automotive ambassadors

GUNG HO

Directed by Ron Howard

American bullhorns look home with Oriental efficiency in *Gung Ho*, with decidedly mixed results. When a recession grips the town of Hadleyville, a vice representative, Mont Stevenson (Michael Keaton), convinces Japanese automaker Asian Motors to start up a new plant. Asian accepts. But Hadleyville, a redneck town, proves to be a most inapt place—and unexpected host, treating the newly arrived Japanese to racial slurs and boorish contempt. A comedy about clashing cultures, *Gung Ho* is never as funny as it intends to be. The film's ultimate weakness may be that two cultures are mutually baffled by working together, but in the main the script sweetens the American behavior while poking fun at the Japanese.

Director Ron Howard is clearly aware of the script's one-sidedness. In the character of Kinshiro (Gedde Watanabe) he tries to redress the balance, making the head of the Japanese contingent a likable fellow who is deeply frustrated over his allegiance to his company and his knowledge that company significance equals too high a human toll. But there is nothing Howard can do to salvage Keaton's role as the outgoing Stevenson. In the end, when Stevenson confesses his misdeeds—drunkards, brawls and ragging egomaniacs—it is not a creditable performance.

Written by Llewellyn Gatz and Michael Mandel—who wrote Howard's previous hit *Night Shift* and *Spinal Tap*—*Gung Ho* is basically a series of broad jokes and punchlines. The American people too make fun of their visitors' strange customs, viewing the technocratic Japanese with their unwavering loyalty to the common cause as little better than Communists. Rehabilitation to the core, *Gung Ho* builds to a rubble-rousing offshore launch still, a few telling lines do slip by. In one scene, some Japanese overseeing the automakers walk past an American and their stop to question his sloppy efforts. The worker tells them, "Let the dealer worry about it." *Gung Ho* could have used more of that reserve, honest humor. But it is content to pass an assembly-line mediocrity instead.

—L. OTT

RESIST THE USUAL

TASTE THE REWARDS

TEACHER'S
HIGHLAND CREAM
SCOTCH WHISKY



Bonham Carter, Smith: the emotional struggle of two lovers in a dangerous time

Passion and propriety

A ROOM WITH A VIEW
Directed by James Ivory

Really has a film been as faithful to a book as director James Ivory's adaptation of *A Room With a View*. Ivory and his screenwriter, Ruth Fraser (Rahola, who takes E.M. Forster's 1908 novel and preserved its wit, irony and brilliant observation of character. And they never allow us these—the importance of choosing passion over propriety—to escape their grasp. The story opens at the turn of the century, as young Lucy Honeychurch (Helen Bonham Carter) arrives at a hotel in the Italian city of Florence with her chaperone, the long-suffering, terribly proper spinster Charlotte Bartlett (Maggie Smith). Learning that the women are disappointed with their rooms, the personable Mr. Emerson (Graham Elliott) offers the one that he and his son, George (Julian Sands), are sharing. Later, when the four go on an outing into the countryside, the intense, misanthropic George professes his private love for Lucy. Out of four—and at her chaperone's insistence—she rejects him.

The film unfolds like pages turning in a book. As the season shifts from Italy back to Lucy's home in England, the viewer begins to wonder whether Lucy will ever be able to act on her true feelings for George. At first, she scribbles a proposal of marriage from

the bookish, prigish Cecil Vyse (David Day Lewis) but when the working-class George and his father visit a nearby house for the summer, her passions—arrested only in her temporary playing of hostesses on the patio—are stirred once again.

Profoundly a study in characters, Forster's novel is complex to the smallest details. In the film, the cues rise to that challenge. Bonham Carter and Sands are superb as the two young lovers trying to express themselves across the rigid barriers that society has erected. And Smith is charmingly awkward and ultimately soothing as the woman who long ago traded her own passions for respectability. But the most affecting performance comes from Day Lewis as the supercilious Cecil. Covering all of the character's nuances at being hurt and feeling misunderstood, he brings respect to an otherwise repellible figure.

Ivory's elegant production brings Forster's view of human nature—as all its conflicting forces—vibrantly alive. Stunning photography and a lyrical musical score only serve to accentuate the film's muted tone of hesitant detachment and heartfelt compassion. Like a long summer's day in which the sun keeps drifting behind the clouds, *A Room With a View* manages to be both stately and warmly and

—LAWRENCE OTTOLENGHI

PRESS

Radio's new freedom

Derogation is in the air—and it may affect what is on the air. Last week Ottawa's meeting of the trustees of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), announced a series of proposals to adjust its regulations controlling AM and FM radio programming to give broadcasters a chance to increase their revenues. Said CRTC chairman André Bureau: "Three out of five radio stations in Canada are in the red, and we have to be concerned about that." For listeners, the changes could mean more commercials and less programming.

The proposed regulations, which are open to public debate until May 1, would remove all restrictions on AM advertising time and eliminate hourly limits on FM commercial content for a trial period of two years. And FM stations would be allowed to ignore a quota limiting commercials to 30 minutes per hour if they air more Canadian-content programming. At the same time, the CRTC would no longer require beer and liquor advertisers to submit their scripts for its approval.

The proposals reflect a general trend toward deregulation by the CRTC, which has been under increasing pressure from private broadcasters. Bureau described the new rules as "part of the commission's long-standing efforts to lighten the regulatory burden." While broadcasters have welcomed the changes, some critics are alarmed by the CRTC's new stance. One proposal, which would reduce the quota of French music on French-language radio stations to 55 from 60 per cent, has angered Quebec's recording industry. Said Pierre St. Georges, head of musique québécoise at the Société Musicale: "It would mean a big loss for Quebec culture. We are going to see a lot of bands cross over to the English market."

As the CRTC readjusts the odds between culture and commerce, it is trying with a delicate balance. Said Linda Butler, a communications professor at Vancouver's Simon Fraser University: "Deregulating broadcasting is different from deregulating airlines. The industry may benefit but it will not directly benefit the consumer."

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON on Toronto with coverage of school reports

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BOOKS

Salvation through sex

HELMET OF PLEAS

By Scott Symons
1900 Belland Street
\$13 pages, \$22.95

Novelist, essayist, commentator of Canadiana and longtime rebel on the cultural scene, Scott Symons is arguably his own most con-



Symons 'counthood sang and shared'

vincing creation. His first two works of fiction, *Place d'Armes* (1961) and *Come Spence* (1969), dramatized his passionate battle against what he perceived as Canada's smug cultural establishment. Then, Symons's celebrity became tangled. He abandoned his marriage and distinguished career as a museum curator and entered a homosexual relationship with a young man and moved to Mexico. Since then he has continued to be a provocative presence through his writing on Canadian culture, including an accomplished history of Canadian literature, as well as tantalizing portions from his novel in progress. Now published, *Helmet of Pleas*, like Symons's earlier *Itan*, turns out to be as much a statement of his beliefs as a novel.

The book is set in a Newfoundland

fishing village and the desert and seashore of Morocco. To Symons's central character, York Mackenzie, both places stand for an abandoned Eden. Mackenzie, once a brilliant journalist, has weathered scandal and self-imposed exile only to find himself at a spiritual impasse. After slipping to Morocco with John, his secretarial lover, the two men have settled in Newfoundland's Capre Cove. But Mackenzie, still haunted by his estrangement from his wife, his son and his roots, and tormented by John's power games, catches a plane to London. Then, on a whim, he sees to Marrakish—"running like God's own fool."

Mackenzie's quest takes him to a metaphorical heaven and hell. He finds spiritual and carnal homosexual love, but he also encounters the angst of death. He goes into the wasteland with two eccentric Englishmen seeking imperial adventures and beautiful boys, and he later makes a solitary venture into a cruel sheik's stronghold. Between adventures, he stays in a Marrakish hotel—the setting for a comedy of gay manners that provides some of the best passages in the book.

Stylistically, *Helmet of Pleas* has grandeur, but Symons frequently overplays. Describing gay scenes in which Mackenzie and a Moroccan boy make love on a mountain-top, Symons states that "their manhood sang and shared, high above the valley of blood."

Writers have often accused the province of sexual self-discovery in the perfume gardens of exotic lands. In that setting, *Helmet of Pleas* articulates an erotic theology, with primal religious symbolism of sacrifice and communion dominating the novel's moments of revelation. While sharing the heart of a freshly killed ram with Moroccan goatherds, Mackenzie wrestles with the contradictions of divine and mortal love. He claims that Moroccan teachers warn that they are one and the same, that sex itself can be holy communion: "Your body is my body, is that man's body," he says at the feast.

Strained for effect, those passages underscore the weakness of the novel. At critical points, Symons still gets more flesh on bones than is appropriate. But it is an evocation of a lost pastoral world, there is enough power and glory to almost redeem Symons from himself.

—RENEE HENDERSON

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Notes from native sons

AWAY FROM HOME

Edited by Edith Dobbs
(Dobbs Publications, 244 pages, \$24.95)

Kidder Dobbs, himself a widely travelled journalist and one of the first writers of Canadian travel writing, *Away From Home*. But few of its entries succeed in the basic function of good travel writing: evoking a strong sense of place. While he has cast his anthology's net widely—the 35 selections range from monologues to fiction and excerpts from diaries—the book is of only moderate interest. Missing are the observations of such gifted Canadian writers as Margaret Laurence, who spent two years in Newfoundland, or Pierre Trudeau on the Central Asian hiking trip which he made as a young man and detailed in *Two Journeys in Red China*, or, indeed, anything by a French-Canadian. Instead, Dobbs has offered a smorgasbord whose flavors rarely rise above the bland.

One of the few successful elements in *Away From Home* is Dobbs's juxtaposition of excerpts from Morley Callaghan's *First Summer in Paris* with John Glusac's *Moment of Montparnasse*. Comparing the two, the reader discovers views about the personalities of the two authors—the brawling Callaghan and the serene Glusac—then about Paris itself. The book also introduces some intriguing Canadians, including one who actually chose to leave Canada's frozen wastes to travel through Russia's. Sir George Simpson, a governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, did so in 1811, possibly because his company had trading interests in the short-Russian territory of Alaska. The only relief to Simpson's rather turgid prose is his sharp eye for pretty women.

Among the last pieces Dobbs has found are a lyrical memoir from Toronto-born poet Gwendolyn MacEwan of life on the Greek islands, Washington travel writer Gary Marchant on the carnival atmosphere of Rio de Janeiro and Vancouver poet Jim Christy as Greenland, where he saw one young woman perform a striptease in a bar and then arrived home with the local beer. Still, the book offers too few enticing pieces. If, for travellers, the real goes on forever, it should be remembered that readers should have less patience.

—STEVEN WILLIAMS

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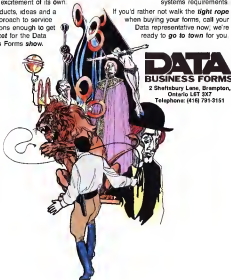
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McCarthy, Thomson gleaming with its rancor and its evocation of worldly power

THEATRE

Dark soul of a prince

It is a season of Hamlets. For the past two weeks at Winnipeg's Manitoba Theatre Centre, Eric Schaefer has starred in the last production by the 800's controversial outgoing artistic director, James Ray, portraying the brooding Dane as a man overwhelmed by the images around him. Meanwhile, Kevin Kline plays a wordbook-like prince in a critically acclaimed off-Broadway production. The Stratford Festival will launch its version, starring David Garver, in May. And last week director Guy Sprung brought *Hamlet* to the Toronto Free Theatre with J.B. Thompson, arguably the leading Canadian actor of the times.

Sprung's line, modern, melodramatic version of the play is set in a 19th-century Denmark ruled by a military elite. While King Claudius (Don Macdonald) and his supporters wear medieval uniforms, Hamlet laments the court in stylish modern clothes plotting revenge against his uncle. Claudius, for the murder of his father, Denmark's former ruler. Thomson reacts to the oppressive atmosphere around him by becoming directly assertive and controlled. That approach allows him to play fine moments, but ultimately he lacks the crucial shades that make Hamlet's eloquent ramblings believable.

In all fairness to Thomson, he is appearing in a drastically shortened play. To speed up the action, Sprung has cut out large sections of the text, including parts of Hamlet's long, brooding speeches. Still, Thomson's unaffected graveyard speech when he finds the skull of the poet, Yorick, is deeply moving. He also brings a great deal of humor from his part, especially when playing opposite Macdonald's thoroughly pompous but entertaining Polonius.

Meanwhile, Sprung has made Hamlet's mother, Gertrude (Nancy Griffin), and his beloved, Ophelia (Sheila McCarthy), passive victims of a thoroughly masculine world. Griffin's Gertrude displays a wonderful sense of belief, replying that she crumbles under the pressures of events. And McCarthy gives the eunuch's most heartrending performance, turning Ophelia's difficult road scene into a virtuosic evocation of horror and pity.

Sprung's Hamlet drinks with his nervousness and reticence of worldly power, but too often leaves more potent mysteries unexplored. Still, Shakespeare's masterpiece possesses such depth that even partially successful productions can hold audiences spellbound.

—BRIAN BEMBOKE with DOUG SHIFF at Winnipeg and JAMES THOMSON in New York

Discord and despotism

MASTER CLASS

By David Pownall
Directed by Gordon McDougall

Power is a superb subject for theatre. Its excitement and its potential terror have rarely stood out as clearly as in *Master Class*, a recent play by the English writer David Pownall. It will be produced next year at Toronto's Theatre Plus, and is now being staged with great success at Montreal's Centre Theatre Pownall has created an imaginary evening at the Kennedy in 1944, when Josef Stalin (Marlene Padbury) and his brutal cultural ministers, Andrei Zhdanov (Richard Purnell), confront two gifted composers, Sergei Prokofiev (Graham Hartley, in a magnificent performance) and Dmitri Shostakovich (Douglas Kirt). Stalin and Zhdanov want to purge Soviet music of its avant-garde tendencies. But the composers, whom they accuse of a criminal devotion to form, wish to engage with their dignity—and their lives. "We are loyal citizens," Prokofiev insists. Stalin responds "But not loyal composers!"

As *Master Class* explores the vicious art of power, it also highlights the surprising power of art. Stalin is a failed poet, nostalgic for the folk culture of his homeland of Georgia, and he occasionally allows great artists to make his composers will. Under the cunning touch of Gordon McDougall (who also directed the play's Canadian premiere at Edmonton's Citadel Theatre last fall), *Master Class* explores the tension between cynicism and idealism, weaving both music and comedy into its political idea. One scene, when the despot's doctor decides that all four men should create a quartet based on a medieval folktale, makes among the funniest in modern drama.

Although Pownall's plot has firm roots in postwar Moscow, his writing illuminates despotism in its many forms. The finest moments of *Master Class* emerge craftily with a defused goodness, as when Stalin strokes Prokofiev's head and then suddenly smashes recordings of his music against Zhdanov's skull. Moody and arbitrary, Padbury's Stalin has the rough strength of a bear. But as *Master Class* gracefully suggests, bears are not invited to the U.S.S.R.

—MARK ARNEY

An artist whose palette is motion

The Canadian dance community expressed skepticism in 1981 when James Kudatka left the National Ballet of Canada, where he was principal dancer and subsequent choreographer, to move to Montreal's Les Grands Ballets Canadiens. His move from Canada's premier dance company to Montreal seemed, if not a step down, then at best a lateral transference. Les Grands was—and is—a smaller troupe with a reputation for rough

dancers are clad in earthy-toned kilts, ties and grey blazers—costumes suspiciously reminiscent of Kudatka's alter ego, the National Ballet School of Canada. Impulsive and unbuttoned children, they begin in raw shock. After 16 pulsating minutes of whirling and jumping, they subside, exhausted, in a disheveled heap. But although the piece crackles with undressed energy, it is not in the same league as Kudatka's best: on opening night, *Passage*

Such talent emerged slowly. Kudatka made the transition from dancer to choreographer in stages. His earliest pieces were well received but not particularly distinguished. But his 1983 *Je Perdu* and subsequent works confirmed Kudatka's ability to deploy large numbers of bodies while maintaining a sensitive feel for space and harmony. Indeed, in her 1984 nomination of the year's best in dance, *The New York Times* dance critic, Anna Kisselgoff, singled out Kudatka for special praise. Since then his work has been in great demand. On Feb. 26 the Joffrey Ballet premiered Kudatka's *The Heart of the Mother* at the University of Iowa in a glowing ovation. His next premiere will be *Goliath* at Expo 86 in Vancouver in August and a work, so far untitled, for the San Francisco Ballet. Still, Kudatka's most profound and moving works to date have sprung from deep personal sorrow. And it remains to be seen how secrets will affect the wholeness of his creative vision.

—KATHY VITA



Kudatka's *Passage*: brief encounter with whirling, and sadness at the core.

edges. But taking risks was what he had learned at the National. Since coming to Montreal, Kudatka has created a ballet of unrelenting range. And last week he enhanced his growing reputation with two company premieres. The more recent work, unbuttoned burners, which he drew for Toronto's Dancemakers in 1985, paled in comparison to his powerful *Passage*, created in 1982 for the American Ballet Theatre (I still, both left or right that, at his best, Kudatka can synthesize complex emotions and ideas).

Although Les Grands scheduled the two works back to back to showcase the diversity of Kudatka's invention, each impinged on the mood established by the other. First came a gutted *Passage*, set in the prophetic synthesizer score of Michael J. Baker, a frequent Kudatka collaborator. At the piece opens, five adolescents are suddenly released into a schoolyard. The

dancers meet with scattered boozing at its conclusion.

By contrast, *Passage* is a deeply affecting, afterworldly dance drama. In fact, New York's Joffrey Ballet has included the work in the repertoire of its current U.S. tour. *Passage* is closely related to Kudatka's most celebrated piece, the tribute *Je Perdu*, whose composition was triggered by the death of his mother. The 12-minute-long *Passage*—set to 18th-century English composer Thomas Tallis's haunting 40-part motet *Spem in Alium* (Hope Above All)—gives light, plant, animal and human forms. The gilded figure of dancer Sylvain Seuss alternately soaks and offers help as a series of brief encounters with five wraiths. The action, unfocused against fast-traveling clouds, appears to ebb and flow. Mysteriously and tenderly, *Passage* fades the audience with the sense of a great stillness at its core.

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Bourne Supremacy*, Ludlum (1)
- 2 *Lin Biao with Lions*, Follett (1)
- 3 *The Mammoth Hunters*, Aust (1)
- 4 *The Roadman's Tale*, Atwood (1)
- 5 *What's Best in the Bone*, Davies (1)
- 6 *Critique*, Cooney (7)
- 7 *Texas, Pickens* (6)
- 8 *Sonnet of the Heart*, Freeman (18)
- 9 *Gay Riders*, Underhill (1)
- 10 *Sonnet*, Reed (1)

Nonfiction

- 1 *Straight from the Heart*, Christian (1)
- 2 *Fit for Life*, Diamond and Diamond (1)
- 3 *San 9 to Paradise*, Engelberg (1)
- 4 *Calculus*, Pennington with Bates (1)
- 5 *Success*, Adams with Nishek (1)
- 6 *Company of Adventurers*, Newson (1)
- 7 *Readings in Disbelief*, Galloway (1)
- 8 *The Serpent and the Rainbow*, Davis (7)
- 9 *As Time Goes By*, The Life of Isidore Bergman, Lesser (1)
- 10 *100 Best Companies to Work for in Canada*, Fox, Perry & Cox

(1) Partial list only



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Calling cards of troubled Tories

By Allan Fotheringham

People are always asking me why the Conservative government is about to collapse. Some experts apparently feel that a new regime not yet two years old should resign because it found some one of many sins. Others feel that the Mulroney era should be tossed out of office because they didn't detect soon enough that a couple of banks were about to fail. I am told, by sound minds, that the government is doomed to failure because it cannot resist a bit of boozing-partying in the House and another almost was out at Ottawa. American Express died in her travels. How this can sink an entire state still evades me, but now I think I have a handle on it. I have seen evidence that indicates the rule of Brian Mulroney may be coming to an end.

In the mail, by roundabout route, there arrives a fuzzy envelope from Room 200 at 161 Laurier St. Ottawa, K1P 6A2. It is a three-page friendly letter asking me to contribute money to the PC Canada Fund—being the cash fund that keeps the operations of the PC Party. Mr. Mulroney and his friends elected included is a nice plastic card "Here is your personal 1985 PC Canada Fund sustaining membership card." It is engraved with my name—"Fotheringham." My first name and initial are missed up. It is addressed to a city where I no longer live and to an employer where Fotheringham hasn't worked for years. At last things become clear. If the Party really actually thinks Fotheringham is going to send them a cheque, then this government really is in trouble.

The official letter is signed by one David Angus QP, chairman/president of the PC Canada Fund. I have no idea who David Angus is, but he sounds to me to be some perfect pompous stuff-shirted man who lives in Rosedale, probably bald, and undoubtedly has been married for 18 years to someone called Martha. He addresses his cheery letter to Allan Fotheringham in a column for *Saskatoon News*.

Dear "Friend" How can I be friends with someone I've never met?

You were selected to receive this card because I believe you share with Brian Mulroney and 70 members of Parliament a faith and conviction that Canada can regain its economic health and move toward prosperity and opportunity for our generation and for our children's generation. I have faith and conviction in a party that actually thinks Fotheringham is going to send them money. Search to see if a party on the edge of delirium tre-



se, if that computer is scratching this law in the barrel. Fotheringham indeed does fear for our children's generation if some blasted twit is sitting in his Rosedale dachshund lair in columns on plan for dough. Does David Angus, come to think of it, really exist? Or he is too just another computer printout, like "Fotheringham," at the wrong address with the wrong employer? Wouldn't be a bit surprised.

Christians Angus waxes and waxes about "the gathering storm of the opposition campaign, being prepared." Get the Churchillian image of those 40-odd Liberals in the House of Commons belping these lovely, frightened Tories who have only 110 votes because John Binley sits in the Speaker's chair? John Turner and his lack of sense want to turn every policy decision into a political battle. "Share-out" introducing politics into the Commons? It reminds me of C.D. Howe, during the high days of Liberal arrogance, who complained to his friends on one day, "Let's not let this degenerate into a debate."

Class friend Angus, according to high principle, guess out that up to 70 per cent of my donation can be written off as my income tax. If Fotheringham will contribute \$100, it will cost Fotheringham only \$30. Who pays the rest? Well, the ordinary taxpayer of course. It's called democracy.

One of the reasons why we have a new government in Ottawa is that it has outperformed the complacent Liberals. Joe Clark, the guy who is good at organizing but wasn't much good at prime ministering, started it all by putting the Tories on a modern footing. Having sent Peterson south of the border to learn the new political techniques from their Republican brethren, they introduced Ottawa and the country to computerized mailing lists and names of interested Canadians bought from magazine subscription files. That's how, one supposes, we got the Fotheringhams of the world into their archaic computer brain. The Liberals, as John Turner found to his regret when he took over from the

stagnant old Tories, were not and never believed the Tories is such high tech. They're only now trying to catch up, and the day I get a letter from Turner asking for bucks will be the day I know they have achieved the Conservative level of conservatism.

Bravo, do you know what your computer is doing? If Fotheringham is a suspect as a "2066 sustaining number" for your party board, who else is on your list? Does Iona Cusumano get a nice plastic card in the mail? Ed Schreyer? Mackenzie King's dog? Once a computer goes berserk, there's no stopping it. Is it possible that every single Canadian letter is now getting a "Dear Friend" return from chairman Angus? The planet must get quite as thick as an Amex or Visa card, but a lot of people might like to have it on their walls, in case it impresses a cop the next time they are picked up for impaired walking. The last that you see a personal friend of David Angus might impress them.

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